



**Universität
Zürich** ^{UZH}

SPORT AS A BRIDGE-BUILDING ACTIVITY AND A TOOL TO PROMOTE PEACE IN DIVIDED SOCIETIES

A PHILOSOPHICAL DISCOURSE TOWARDS A NEW THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

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PREAMBLE

«You don't wait for peace in order to use sport for peace.

You can use sport to achieve peace.»

Shimon Peres, Athens Roundtable on Sport for Development and Peace, 2004

Sport and peacebuilding – Is a topic that has always inspired me and has been a central theme in my life. My passion and interest in this topic has led me to write this dissertation.

During my sporting career as a judoka, I have always been fascinated by the fact that people from different backgrounds train together and respect each other. The fact that there was always a welcoming culture among athletes and coaches from all over the world, made a great impact on me. Most of the time I had the feeling that armed conflicts and political tensions between or within nations would hardly find their way into the sporting environment or our daily training routine. At the same time, however, this positive and peaceful impression of the sporting environment has repeatedly been disrupted by events such as outbreaks of violence, nationalism and racism in soccer.

Accordingly, I repeatedly asked myself how much of a suitable tool sport might be for a peacebuilding process and how it could be applied in the best way. In other words, I was faced with the mystery of how the positive basic impression of sport, which I have internalized through my Judo career, could be positively integrated into peacebuilding activities, taking into account the possible negative manifestations of sport.

I developed a large part of this research project during a stay abroad in New York. During this time, daily I was wondering about how sport could be used as a bridge-building activity and as a tool to promote peace. But bridge-building was not a talked about issue in the USA. On the contrary, people were confronted with the «construction of walls». For this reason, I have always wondered whether sport can play a role at all in the context of political actions and decisions.

The answer to that question is yes. In line with the bottom-up strategy of peacebuilding, I believe that peacebuilding must take place on a small scale, i.e. among the individuals themselves. In other words, exactly where sport is practiced all over the world. Furthermore, I am convinced that sport as a game and as a social interaction, in which people agree on common rules, can in one way or another be used positively for peacebuilding.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the extent to which sport can be used as an effective tool to promote peace in divided post-conflict societies. In this context, the research shows the role that sport can play in building sustainable peace in divided societies as well as the key factors that need to be considered for sport to be an effective peacebuilding tool. Furthermore, it will explore the potential of sport to bring people from opposing societal groups together for common goals.

The main objective of this thesis is to develop a new theoretical framework in the form of an impact model. To achieve this, the work will focus on answering the research question by applying the grounded theory research paradigm. Accordingly, the data collection is firstly carried out by an in-depth literature review that encompasses all relevant components. The concepts of peace, ethnic conflicts, peacebuilding and sport are the key components that are being examined for the development of the new theoretical framework.

In a further step, all the theoretical (partial) components examined in detail are brought together. In particular, the identification of overlaps, opportunities and risks between the concept of sport and the concepts that must be considered for peacebuilding are pointed out. The knowledge gained in this way is ultimately incorporated into a new theoretical framework as well as an impact model.

In the course of developing the new model, it is shown that several conditions have to be fulfilled in order for sport to be considered at all as a tool to promote peace. The six central aspects to be considered are: (1) the right timing, (2) ensuring accessible locations with sport infrastructures, (3) guaranteeing participation opportunities, (4) working towards a certain mindset and orientation, (5) creating a sense of belonging, as well as (6) working on relationships. In addition, the impact model developed shows that the implementation of a «*Peace Park*» would, among other things, create a place of encounter that would also offer a platform for social interactions, where social capital would develop accordingly. In this logic of processes and effects, the desired goal of peaceful coexistence can be expected.

In addition, this thesis focuses on a theory testing part that provides further knowledge about the newly developed theoretical framework and its impact model. In particular, this testing provides additional insights to adapt and improve the impact model. In order to test, as well as to adjust and underpin the newly developed theoretical framework, a qualitative research approach is applied within this thesis. In other words, the second round of data collection takes

place through semi-structured in-depth interviews with selected experts and an online survey with practitioners from the field.

The results of these qualitative research methods largely support the impact model developed. According to experts and practitioners, sport seems to be in a position to make a positive contribution to peacebuilding processes. At the same time, however, it also becomes clear that sport is associated with a number of risks. The interaction between positive contributions and existing risks means that the expected contribution must not be overestimated and must be relativized accordingly. Therefore, those elements which were either underestimated, overestimated or even hidden in the development of the initial theoretical framework and impact model are adjusted in a new impact model 2.0. The adjustment encompasses, among other things, (1) the inclusion of a strategic orientation of peacebuilding interventions, (2) the relativization of the infrastructure of the peace park, (3) the importance of external instructions, (4) the transmission of the «right» values, as well as (5) the relativization that crosscutting identities can be established.

This dissertation offers three valuable contributions to the fundamental knowledge of how and in what form sport can be used as an effective instrument of peacebuilding. Firstly, an important contribution of this research is the fundamental examination of the potential impact of sport in the field of peacebuilding. A second important contribution is the identification of stress ratios that may occur in the context of peace promotion through sport. A third contribution is the development of a theoretical framework which, on the basis of a modular structure, illustrates the potential use of sport.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AD	Anno Domini
BC	Before Christ
FIFA	Fédération International de Football Association
F4P	Football for Peace
IGO	Intergovernmental Organization
IJF	International Judo Federation
IOC	International Olympic Committee
NGO	Non-governmental organization
SAD	Swiss Academy for Development
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SDP	Sport for Development and Peace
SDP IWG	Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group
UN	United Nations
UNOSDP	United Nations Office on Sport for Development and Peace

PART I: INTRODUCING SPORT FOR DEVELOPMENT AND PEACE

1 THE ROLE OF SPORT IN DEVELOPMENT AND PEACEBUILDING

The United Nations (UN) and other major development and peacebuilding organizations are of the opinion that sport as a universal language can be an effective instrument for promoting peace, tolerance and intercultural understanding by bringing people together across political borders, cultures and religions. Its intrinsic values such as teamwork, fairness, discipline, respect for the opponent and the rules of the game are understood worldwide and can be harnessed in the advancement of solidarity, social cohesion, and peaceful coexistence. Concerning the effectiveness of sport as a peace-promoting tool, there is a divergence of opinions. While advocates refer to sport values that support peacebuilding processes, sceptics reduce the concept of sport as a peace promoter to a utopia (Giulianotti 2018, Kleiner 2012, Rookwood 2009).

1.1 LAYING THE FOUNDATION

The use of sport as an instrument to promote development and to achieve sustainable peace is an emerging research field. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) and other sport governing bodies underline that sports movements and events serve to stimulate peace and tolerance among international participants and spectators (Guttmann 2002: 28). This approach of sport as an instrument for peacebuilding received substantial support through the emergence of the *Sport for Development and Peace* (SDP) sector. This newly established sector uses sport as a tool to promote peace, reconciliation, reconstruction and reduction of social tensions particularly in the context of post-conflict settings and deeply divided societies (Sekulic et al. 2006). In addition, the SDP sector pursues the goal to promote health, education and gender equality as well as to tackle racism, intolerance, prejudice and social exclusion. The key institutions related to the SDP sector include states, intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), international sports federations, transnational corporations and grassroots community-based organizations (Giulianotti/Armstrong 2010: 207-208).

The pivotal concept of SDP refers to the deliberate use of sports events and activities as a delivery mechanism to achieve specific development and peace goals, especially in respect to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) defined by the UN. The field of SDP aims to open participation and to guarantee access for all members of society in sports and leisure activities. Successful SDP initiatives combine sport with additional non-sport components in order to

increase their effectiveness. Generally spoken, sport is therefore integrated into other local, regional or national development and peace programs so that the different involved supporting platforms are able to reinforce reciprocally. Whereas SDP is generally seen as an emerging sector in the field of development, its origins can be traced back to the ancient times when the Olympic Truce (*Ekecheiria*) was used to impose a provisional peace between two states at war to allow their athletes to compete with each other during the Olympic Games (SDP IWG 2008: 1-12, United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace 2003).

In 2001, former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan introduced *the United Nations Office on Sport for Development and Peace* (UNOSDP) at the UN level. Its mandate was to coordinate the efforts undertaken by the UN in promoting sport systematically and consistently as a tool to contribute to the achievement of development and peace (Cardenas 2012: 24-25, UNODSP 2016, Wilson 2012). The UNOSDP's agenda gained momentum when Kofi Annan nominated the former President of the Swiss Confederation Adolf Ogi as his Special Adviser on SDP in 2001. The following milestones were achieved between 2001 and 2017:

- In 2002, the former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan convened an UN-Inter-Agency Task Force on SDP to review activities involving sport within the UN system (Schrag 2012).
- In 2003, the established UN Inter-Agency Task Force on Sport for Development and Peace published its report entitled «*Sport for Development and Peace: Towards Achieving the Millennium Development Goals*» which concluded that sport at all levels, from play and physical activity to competitive sport, is a great and cost-effective means to advance the Millennium Development Goals (Lemke 2012).
- Since 2003, the UN Member States have repeatedly demonstrated their commitment and support to the use of sport as an instrument for development and peacebuilding by adopting a number of resolutions (e.g. A/RES/58/5, A/RES/59/10, A/RES/60/8, A/RES/60/9).
- In 2005, the UN initiated the *International Year of Sport and Physical Education* with peace and development as key principles (UNOSDP 2016).
- In 2009, the IOC was granted observer status within the UN (Giulianotti 2018: 26).
- In 2013, the 6th of April was declared as the UN's annual international day of sport for development and peace. Since 2014, this day has been celebrated every year (A/RES/67/296, Giulianotti 2018).

- In 2015, Article 37 of the SDGs set out the social role of sport, as an *«important facilitator of sustainable development»* by making *«growing contribution to the achievement of development and peace by promoting tolerance and respect and by contributing to the empowerment of women and youth, individuals and communities, and to health, education and social inclusion»* (A/RES/70/1, Giulianotti 2018: 26).
- In 2017, UN Secretary-General António Guterres announced the closure of the UNOSDP. He agreed with the IOC President, Thomas Bach, to establish a direct partnership with the IOC. Accordingly, the UN decided to close the UNOSDP and to delegate its task to the IOC (Norman 2017).

Between 2001 and 2017, the UNOSDP was moreover responsible for the coordination of the 2004 established *Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group* (SDP IWG), whose intention was to promote the integration of SDP policy recommendations into governments' strategies for development and peace. In 2008, the SDP IWG published an orientation guide, which since then acted as a key reference within the SDP sector (SDP IWG 2008: 201-210). Under the umbrella of the SDP concept, the established SDP IWG defined five thematic subareas:

- *Sport and Health*
- *Sport and Child and Youth and Development*
- *Sport and Gender*
- *Sport and Persons with Disabilities*
- *Sport and Peace* (Dienes 2012: 41)

This dissertation examines the fifth of these sub-areas, which is why the focus is entirely on sport and peace. Accordingly, in the following chapter, the backgrounds and roots of sport and peace will be reviewed and presented.

1.2 EKECHEIRIA – OLYMPIC TRUCE

The idea of sport as a peace-promoting tool has long historical roots. The initial indication of a connection between sport and peacebuilding is undoubtedly Ekecheiria, which literally means *«holding of hands»*, and which was the core of the ancient Olympic Games. Ekecheiria is nowadays known as the Olympic Truce. From 776 BC to 393 AD, for nearly twelve centuries,

the Olympic Games and the Olympic Truce went hand in hand against the setting of continuous war between Greece's warring city-states (Spaaij 2012: 761-774). In their customary way, the ancient Greeks accepted that there should be a ban on onsets of combat operations between city-states during the Olympic Games. As a result, it was institutionalized that the competitors of the Olympic Games were able to cross the neighboring city-states to reach ancient Olympia, even if it was the territory of the enemy (Georgiadis/Syrgios 2009: 18-20). In a nutshell, it can be said that the implementation of the Olympic Games, which were first held in 776 BC, was based on the idea of having a ceasefire between ancient Greece's warring city-states and to impose a temporary time of peace.

This Greek myth refers to the fact that king Iphitos was consulting the oracle at Delphi to get advice on how to end the interstate wars that were drawing his kingdom into chaos. The advice given to the king by the oracle was to hold an athletic contest in ancient Olympia, every four years. During that particular competition, there should be a truce honored by all parties involved. Accordingly, the Olympic Truce was announced before and during each of the Olympic Games that took place. During this institutionalized ceasefire, wars were banned, militaries were forbidden to invade the ancient district of Elis or to threaten the Olympic Games. Nevertheless, Golden (1998) pointed out the restriction of the Olympic Truce:

«The truce was quite restricted, an armistice (Ekecheiria), not a period of peace (Eirene) throughout the Greek world; only open warfare by or against Elis was forbidden. Other wars could (and did) carry on – all that was intended was that they not disrupt the games.» (Golden 1998: 10)

Despite this limitation, the ancient Olympic Games were designed with the concept of peace and mediation between the warring states in mind. It can, therefore, be said that the concept of the Olympic Truce arose from a deep belief that sport and Olympic ideals could have an impact on a peaceful world.

In modern times, the Olympic Games were revitalized in 1896, but the idea of the Olympic Truce continued to be inactive for almost another century. In 1992, the IOC reestablished the Olympic Truce and applied it at all Olympic Games since then (Syrgios 2009: 22-24, Spaaij 2012: 761-774).

1.3 BASIC ASSUMPTION – THE UNIQUE CONTRIBUTION OF SPORT

For a long time, modern sport was often associated with conflicts. Many experts have linked

sport to populist manifestations in the form of militarism, jingoism and violent nationalism (Mangan 1985, Brohm 1987). These days, scholars within the field of sport and peacebuilding share the idea that sport can be used as an instrument to prevent conflict and to build peace. Furthermore, the main actors in the SDP sector believe that sport possesses unique attributes that allow implementing certain values into development and peace processes (Dienes 2012, Kleiner 2012). According to a number of current scholars (e.g. Cardenas 2012, Dienes 2012, SDP IWG 2008), the following five contributions of sport are supposed to stimulate development and peace processes.

(1) *Universal popularity*. Most people feel very attracted to sport – disputably more than to any other activity. In the current debate, advocates emphasize that sport, with its universal popularity, is capable of transcending national, cultural, socio-economic and political borders. According to the supporters of the SDP concept, the popularity of sport is growing to a large extent because it is fun and enjoyable for everyone (Cardenas 2012: 26, Dienes 2012: 42, SDP IWG 2008: 5).

(2) *Social connection*. The SDP IWG, among others, is of the opinion that the most powerful attribute of sport is its value as a social connector and above all like a relationship builder. In this context, sport is understood as a fundamental social process that brings together athletes, teams, coaches, volunteers and spectators. Both extensive horizontal relationships at a community level and vertical relationships with national governments, sports federations, and international organizations can be achieved. The connecting dimension of sport is seen in the current debate as helpful in uniting people from different backgrounds, which is why sport is able to establish a shared bond that positively influences social cohesion (Cardenas 2012: 26, Dienes 2012: 42, SDP IWG 2008: 5).

(3) *Platform of communication*. Because in recent decades sport has emerged as a global mass entertainment, it has become one of the most far-reaching platforms of communication and dialogue worldwide. Sports events offer the capacity to reach an enormous number of people all over the world and are therefore considered as effective platforms for social mobilization and public education (Dienes 2012: 42-43, SDP IWG 2008: 6).

(4) *Crosscutting instrument*. Sport is promoted in contemporary literature as one of the most crosscutting instruments of development and peace. There are only a few areas of development in which sport does not seem to be applicable. In current development and peace projects, sport is used to promote health, to strengthen the education and development of children and young

people and to promote social integration. Furthermore, sport is used to prevent conflicts and consolidate peace, to promote gender equality, to improve the integration of people with disabilities and to promote economic development (Dienes 2012: 42-43, SDP IWG 2008: 6).

(5) *Emphasizing the positive*. Finally, advocates of the SDP concept believe that sport has an influence on societies' empowerment, motivation, and inspiration by shedding light on what people are able to achieve and not what they cannot. Therefore, sport is seen as catalyst to inspire people of all ages to engage in sporting activity and to benefit from the opportunities for enjoyment, personal development as well as newly developed positive social connections (Cardenas 2012: 26, Dienes 2012: 43, SDP IWG 2008: 6).

How and to what extent these positive contributions mentioned above are implemented in actual development and peacebuilding practice will be explained in the subsequent section.

2 ESTABLISHED CONCEPTS RELATED TO SPORT AND PEACE

Sport has historically played an important role in numerous societies. The UN considers sport as a natural partnership. Sport and play are human rights that must be respected and enforced worldwide. Furthermore, the UN is of the opinion that sport is increasingly recognized and used as a cost-effective and powerful tool in the fields of humanitarian aid, development and peacebuilding. Not only in UN initiated programs in this field, but also for NGOs, governments, development organizations and sports federations (UNODSP 2016).

The next three sections will discuss the fields of action that use sport as a peacebuilding instrument (cf. *chapter 2.1*), will look at the current SDP literature (cf. *chapter 2.2*) and identify its theoretical gaps as well as ways to close them (cf. *chapter 2.3*).

2.1 FIELD OF ACTIVITY

In recent years, the link between sport and peace has received unprecedented attention. The UN declared 2005 as the International Year of Sport and Physical Education. Numerous awareness-raising campaigns took place this year to promote sport and peace in the field of development and peace. Several NGOs implemented peacebuilding projects with sporting activities (Kleiner 2012).

The most famous NGO in the SDP sector is the Canadian-based NGO *Right to Play*, which has received a lot of attention for their work in Africa. Their main focus is on aiding the post-

conflict reconciliation process by bringing together former enemies in friendly sports settings. The success of Right to Play and the UN's decision to include sport in its annual program inspired many other NGOs around the world to start engaging in this field.

In 2017, a large number of different institutions involved in the SDP sector could have been identified (Sportanddev 2017). More specifically, Svensson and Woods (2017) identified a total of 955 entities which are involved in SDP practices at the grassroots level. Most organizations within the SDP sector run programs in Africa. In addition, there is a fairly large number of entities operating programs in Europe, North America, Asia and Latin America.

The objectives and targets pursued by the different projects are very heterogeneous. They correspond in most cases to the disposition and needs identified in the country of operation, which also determine the range and form of the use of sport (Dienes 2012: 47).

In addition to numerous NGOs, global corporations such as *Nike* and international organizations such as *the Fédération Internationale de Football Association* (FIFA) are also on board. Often within the framework of social responsibility, these corporations or organizations are actively involved in SDP work (Millington/Kidd 2018, Wilson 2012).

When looking at the use of sport as a peacebuilding tool, a distinction can be made between two operational levels – the macro level and the micro-level. On the macro level, sport is seen as an engine for the promotion of peaceful international relations. Moreover, some advocates (e.g. Guttman 2002, Dienes 2012, Kleiner 2012) argue that a competitive encounter at major events of organized sport can even contribute to reducing tensions between states and their citizens. This achievement is supported by the UN and the Olympic movement. The latter promotes Olympic ideals such as excellence, participation, peace, friendship and respect through the organization of the Olympic Games and related activities. Mega sports events such as the Olympic Games or the FIFA World Cup have the capacity for extensive pooling. They bring together fans and athletes from all over the world and act as influential agenda-setters within the international public arena (Dienes 2012: 44). In addition, several studies have shown that international sport contributes to the formation of global identities, cultures and transnational domains (Cronin 1999, Cronin/Mayall 1998, Schulenkorf 2009).

On the macro level, international sport has furthermore proven to have a positive effect on political change through so-called sports diplomacy. For example, the ping-pong diplomacy between the United States of America and China in the 1970s led to informal political contact

between key political actors and induced an improvement of the general political atmosphere between these two countries (Bouzou 2012, Dienes 2012: 45). Although temporarily, it developed chances for formal rapprochements and negotiations or at least facilitated access to these formal procedures.

Nevertheless, there are some critical voices that shed light on an unethical or controversial aspect of international sport and sporting activities in general. Critics often refer to the abuse, exploitation, hate and breakouts of violence in conjunction with sport and sporting events. The examples of political interference by governments in independent sports administrations, the boycotts of major sports events and the international escalation of animosities between sports rivals have led to questioning the role of sport as a peacebuilding force (Dienes 2012: 44-46, Kleiner 2012: 31-33).

In order to eliminate misconceptions about what sport can and cannot achieve in the field of international relations, this thesis analyzes both positive and negative examples within both a broader and a more specific context. Generally spoken, there is a common sense in the literature that sport on the macro level is primarily seen as an instrument to support the peacebuilding process in its different variations at the community respectively micro level. In this context, sport is primarily used as a «*door opener*». At the micro-level, sport is predominantly used to build social relationships, advance the process of reconciliation, overcome stereotypes and teach life skills particularly in regard to non-violent conflict resolution (Dienes 2012: 45).

In today's field operations (micro-level), the focus within sport programs in the context of development and peace is always on mass sport and not on top-level sport. Successful sport for development and peace programs aim to enforce the right of all members of society to participate in sports and leisure activities (UNODSP 2016). Current projects and programs aim to empower the participants and communities involved by occupying them with activities that include developing local capacity, implementing universally accepted principles and pursuing sustainability through partnership, cooperation and coordinated activities (SDP IWG 2008: 201-210).

Additionally, sport for peace initiatives aim to harness the power of sport to support the peacebuilding process. Contemporary scholars note that sport alone cannot create peace. However, the power of sport can support the peacebuilding process and can ultimately contribute to a more extensive and comprehensive attempt to achieve sustainable peace (SDP IWG 2008, Dienes 2012).

2.2 EXISTING STUDIES ON PEACEBUILDING THROUGH SPORT

Within the field of SDP, many scholars assume that sport can be used as a tool to prevent conflict and to build peace. This assumption is based on the idea that sport possesses unique attributes which can be used for peacebuilding processes. A growing number of studies such as Ford (2006), Sugden (2008, 2010), Lidor and Blumenstein (2011) and Rookwood (2008) have demonstrated that sport is applicable as a vehicle for promoting mutual understanding, reconciliation and coexistence in deeply divided societies. These existing studies on SDP have been enriched by research, mainly in the form of case studies, which have been carried out to measure the impact of SDP projects on communities. The *Football for Peace* (F4P) initiative, for example, is a grassroots program with ongoing peacebuilding and conflict transformation projects in the Middle East. For the last 14 years, this project has succeeded in bringing Israeli and Arab children together to play soccer in a non-threatening environment. F4P is a joint venture between the University of Brighton and the British Council that has been scientifically accompanied. Consequently, there have been several papers examining the peacebuilding impact of sport in this particular context (Cardenas 2012: 30, Leitner et al. 2012: 110-111).

John Sugden has done much research in the field of sport and peacebuilding in divided societies and is widely considered as one of the founders and leading experts in the field. As such, he was one of the leading researchers in the F4P project. In his study (Sugden 2008), he explains the challenges of using soccer to promote sustainable peace between Palestinian and Israeli children. Moreover, he pleads a new way of working within SDP by advocating that the work within SDP should function in combination with regional and national policy processes and should also include local knowledge (Cardenas 2012: 30).

Among many others, Levermore (2008) made a mark in refining the desired outcomes of institutions working in the field of SDP. His research identifies the following outcomes:

- Conflict resolution and intercultural comprehension
- Infrastructure building; physical, social, and community-based
- Awareness-raising through education
- Empowerment
- Making a direct impact on physical and psychological health
- Economic development and poverty alleviation (Leitner et al. 2012: 111).

A remarkable number of studies refer to the negative impact of sport respectively to the challenges faced when using sport as a peace-promoting tool. According to Rookwood and Palmer (2011), violence in the form of intrapersonal violence (drug and/or alcohol abuse) or interpersonal violence (national and transnational wars) is one of the biggest challenges facing today's societies when it comes to the functioning of peacebuilding through sport. In this context, Bar-Tal and Rosen (2009) and Olmert (2011) emphasize that with the ongoing wars and conflicts in today's culture throughout the global community, peace becomes a difficult condition in certain areas of the world (Hurrel 2016: 12). According to this line of argument, it is very difficult to expect that sport could have any significant impact on peacebuilding at all.

Donnelly (2011) also points out that the use of sport during the peacebuilding process is fraught with potential difficulties. Webb and Richelieu (2015) argue even more critically in considering the irony that sport should bring peace, knowing that historically it used to be an instrument in preparation for war. Further studies connected to this idea argued that if sport is used for military training purposes and as a field of competition to promote nationalism as well as social exclusivity, sport does not seem to be a logical instrument for peacebuilding and conflict resolution at all (Hurrel 2016: 9-15, Giulianotti/Armstrong 2011: 381-384).

After this brief overview of some of the existing studies on the role of sport in peacebuilding, the next section will identify existing gaps in the literature and explore ways to bridge them.

2.3 BRIDGING THE GAP

Although research on sport and peacebuilding has increased, SDP as an academic field is still in its infancy. As a consequence, policies and sport-related interventions remain to be shaped by unchallenged views founded on wishful thinking (Cardenas 2012: 3, Coakley 2011: 307).

The idea of using sport as an instrument to promote peace has been pushed for decades in both national and international contexts (Levermore/Beacom 2009: 1). However, there is only a limited amount of empirical research available that analyses the potential of sport interventions and their impact on peacebuilding, especially during reconciliation processes in divided societies (Hurrel 2011: 6-8). Consequently, an in-depth evaluation of the impact attributes allocated to sport is needed, with a particular emphasis on the attributes regarding its ability to build trust and relationships. In addition, there are only a few 'sports for peace' initiatives that are grounded in existing conflict resolution theories. Future research should therefore include theories and frameworks from conflict and peace studies (Schulenkorf/Sugden 2011: 253,

Schrag 2012: 4-9). Besides the lack of using the knowledge from peace and conflict studies, social science research within the SDP sector has so far focused mainly on individual, existing projects within a specific geographic setting. According to Giulianotti (2011), research should, however, also go beyond case studies and produce more analytical work.

The role of sport in promoting peace is a relatively new, young and emerging field of research, which up until now has not produced many established theories. Despite knowing the value of sport, the specific role of sport in post-conflict peacebuilding remains understudied. Not only the UN but also many NGOs have dedicated themselves to the field of sport for development and peace over the past 18 years. However, since there is too little research available, it seems difficult to implement projects efficiently and effectively in practice.

However, what is still missing is a scientific step-by-step examination of the topic of *«sport as a tool to promote peace»* as well as a debate regarding the negative impact of sport. Furthermore, there is so far no statistical evidence, no theoretical framework and no process model that would highlight the effectiveness of sport as a peacebuilding tool. Another key issue that should be addressed and that focuses on sport as a tool to build relationships is how the concept of sport would fit into a larger peacebuilding framework.

This thesis addresses these shortcomings by developing a new theory of *«sport as a bridge-building activity and a tool to promote peace in divided societies»* using conflict resolution and peacebuilding approaches in the broader field of ethnic conflicts.

3 PREVIEW

3.1 RESEARCH QUESTION AND OBJECTIVES

With the background that could be gained in the introductory part of this dissertation, it becomes clear that the link between sport and peace is not straightforward. When investigating the relationship between sport and peace, several questions arise, including: What role can sport effectively seize in promoting peace? Are the positive values of sport sufficient to stimulate peace promotion, or do the negative aspects of sport, such as violence, discrimination, and corruption prevail? In what form can the use of sport be a promising medium for peacebuilding? What type of sport promotes peace? Does sport promote peace for everybody? To analyze these questions in greater depth, the following research question shall be addressed:

To what extent is sport an effective tool to promote peace in divided post-conflict societies?

In answer to the research question and the associated pre- and post-questions, this study aims to provide a series of contributions to the existing knowledge base and to close a number of gaps in the existing research. Therefore, the following three objectives are formulated:

- (1) *New theoretical framework.* Using conflict resolution and peacebuilding approaches, a theoretical framework will be developed. Additionally, the debate on the positive claims attributed to sport compared to the negative manifestation of sport should be included in this new theoretical framework.
- (2) *Impact model.* The expected outcome will be the development of an impact model that illustrates the use of sport in peacebuilding processes and the respective causal assumptions connecting the different micro-level processes.
- (3) *Additional knowledge.* In the end, additional knowledge will be generated through a triangulation of qualitative methods, so that the newly developed theory can be strengthened and adjusted where necessary.

Overall, this research will demonstrate what role sports activities can play in achieving sustainable peace in divided societies. Furthermore, it will argue which regulations and procedures must be respected in order for sport to act as an effective peacebuilding tool. It will highlight the potential of sports activities to bring people of opposing societal groups together for common objectives, as well as discussing the limits of sports activities, especially with a profound focus on its negative manifestations.

More specifically, this research aims to contribute to the academic literature by developing a new theoretical framework that includes potential outcomes and impacts. The identification of single process steps in using sport as a peace promoting tool and the identification of the proper and functional use of sport, as well as the identification of the rules and standards that must be respected, should be able to contribute to the improvement of future policy and project work. More precisely the findings from this research may be used as a basic framework whereof further planning, developing, managing and implementing sport steps can be deviated.

Last but not least, this research may be used to increase the awareness about the potential of sport as a peacebuilding instrument to achieve sustainable peace within hostile societies. This might have further implications for governments that consider using sport as a strategy within

their peacebuilding policies and programs.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

This thesis aims to gain a better understanding of the potential of sport as a tool to promote peace within a broader peacebuilding process. The expected outcome of this thesis will be a new theory, followed by a theory testing section, which will again allow to adjust the newly developed theory where necessary. To develop this theory, this thesis will respond to the research question by applying the grounded theory research paradigm.

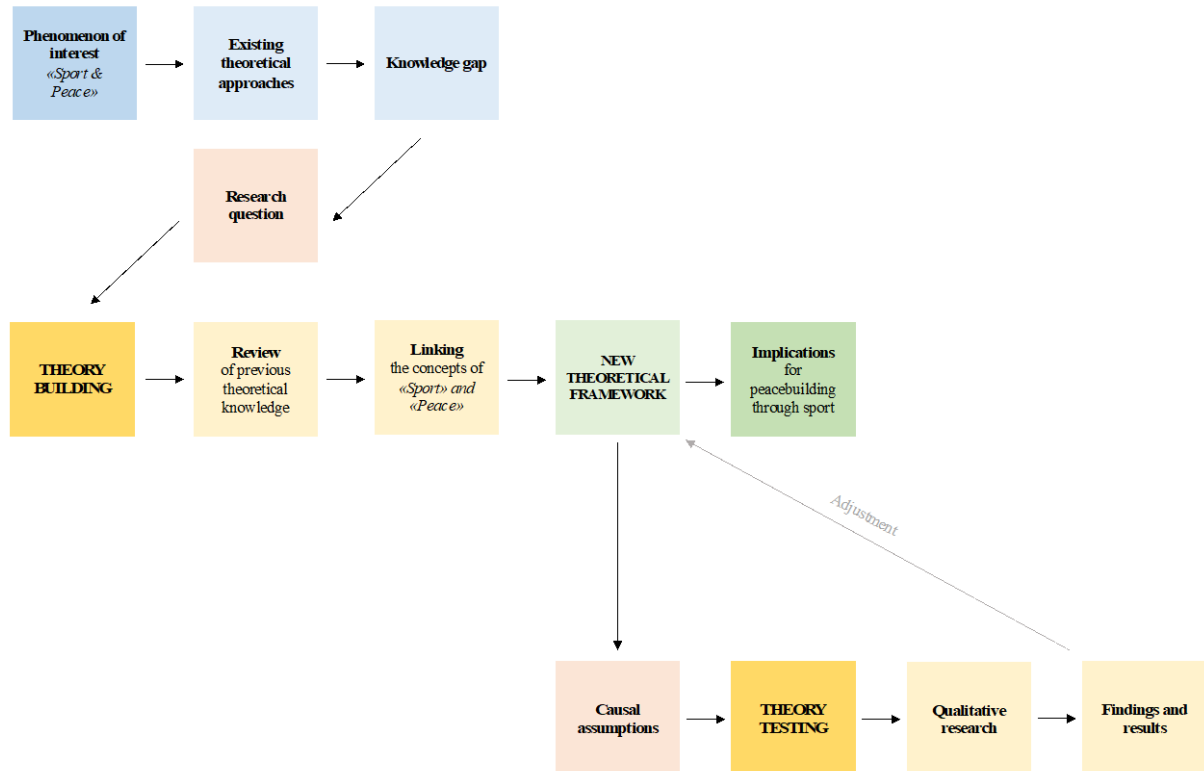
According to Denzin (1997), the grounded theory approach is the most influential paradigm when it comes to qualitative research in social science. It is primarily used to build a new theory rather than to test an existing theory and elucidates the single concepts that are the crucial building blocks of a theory to be developed. The researcher begins with a phenomenon of interest followed by a specific research question in a particular area, which has been little explored so far. Grounded theory researchers collect data from this little-known field and pave the way for the development of new ideas. The grounded theory depends on methods that lead the researcher as close and deep as possible to the real world, so that the findings and results are «*grounded*» in the empirical world (Patton 2015: 109-111).

Therefore, the new theory will be developed by collecting data through a triangulation of several qualitative methods. The following three interrelated steps will be executed:

- First, the data collection will be conducted by a broad, *in-depth literature review*, whereby all relevant building blocks will be included. This first step of the research corresponds to the grounded theory paradigm, in which the review of existing literature is not used as a theoretical background but as a data source (Creswell 2012, Gibbs 2007). The examination of the single building blocks and the merging of the concept of sport and the concept of peace are the key components in building the new theory.
- The second step consists of *in-depth interviews* with a selected group of experts who should complement the existing literature with additional subject-specific knowledge.
- The third and final step of the analyses will be carried out through an *online survey*, with the aim of incorporating the knowledge and experience of practitioners in the field of sport and peacebuilding.

Figure 1 summarizes the entire research design applied in this thesis, which includes the single steps to be taken to build, to test and to adjust the new theoretical framework.

Figure 1: Research design



3.3 THESIS OUTLINE

This thesis is divided into five parts. The following *part II* discusses current approaches related to the four main conceptual areas of peace, ethnic conflict, peacebuilding and sport, which serve as building blocks for the new theoretical framework. The first section focuses on the concept and various definitions of peace. Furthermore, the ethnic conflict literature focuses on the grievance-approach, in particular on grievance caused by dominance, exclusion, inequalities, and suppression along ethnic lines that stimulate civil war. The literature on peacebuilding processes sheds light on the phase of reconciliation and the bottom-up strategy as an implementation for peacebuilding from below. Finally, the concept of sport discusses the basic understanding and the models of sport, its role within society and significance for the member of a society as well as the different types of values and manifestations related to sport – positive and negative.

Part III outlines the very essence of this thesis; the new theoretical framework in which sport is linked to the peacebuilding process, with a particular emphasis on the realistic use and limits

of sport. The outcome of this part will be a model illustrating how and when sport can be used as a peace-promoting tool within the peacebuilding process.

Part IV describes the empirical analysis of sport as a peace-promoting tool. Therefore, the research methods and the detailed design, as well as the process of data analysis, are presented in this part. Furthermore, the results of the data collection will be presented and discussed and linked to the research questions and objectives developed at the beginning of this part. Therefore, the findings of how to use sport as an effective peacebuilding tool will be outlined. This is followed by an overview of opportunities and a discussion of potential challenges and risks related to the use of sport.

The final *part V* provides an overview of what has been achieved in answering the research question. In addition, the new theory will be critically reflected. In the end, this dissertation concludes by outlining the theoretical contributions and practical implications of this research. Furthermore, suggestions for further research are proposed based on the new theory and the associated findings.

PART II: COMPONENTS OF THE NEW THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This part aims to address the single theoretical components required for the development of the new theoretical framework «*sport as a bridge-building activity and a tool to promote peace in divided societies*». The relevant topics, all of which will themselves take into account several theoretical aspects, are the following:

- *The goal*: Peace (discussed in *chapter 4*)
- *The source of conflict*: Ethnic conflict (discussed in *chapter 5*)
- *The process*: Peacebuilding (discussed in *chapter 6*)
- *The potential tool to promote peace*: Sport (discussed in *chapter 7*)

The theoretical approaches used in this dissertation are addressed in detail in the following section. After each component, the key theoretical aspects required to develop the new theoretical framework will be summarized in a preliminary conclusion.

4 CONCEPT OF PEACE

Peace politics can be defined as soft politics that depends on very concrete decisions made by people at different levels. At the micro-level, for example, it is the inner person and the family. At the meso-level, we have the society, and at the macro-level, we find inter-societal and even inter-regional relationships and conflicts. At all these levels, there is space for politics in the sense of guidance towards peaceful relations (Galtung 1996: vii).

As the research question focuses on the promotion of peace in post-conflict divided societies, the first step in the following chapter will be to define the concept of peace (cf. *chapter 4.1*). Once the respective term has been clarified, the second step will be to discuss possible steps towards achieving peace (cf. *chapter 4.2* and *4.3*).

4.1 AN ATTEMPT TO DEFINE PEACE

Peace is an often-used word, with which one is frequently confronted. It becomes quickly obvious that there are many different ways to define peace and that there is a lack of a common definition (Baljit 2003: 1). The source of the word «*peace*» is rather elusive and can be traced back through the Romans to the ancient Greeks. According to Darnton (1973), another source of the word peace can be found in the contact between the Greeks and the people from

India/Tibet. «*Pax*», the word for peace given to the Greeks, seems to match perfectly with the Tibetan «*pah-cio*», which indicates a form of tranquility within nature. In this context, Darnton (1973) refers to the basic idea of peace, which results from the significance of individual tranquility. There are certain similarities with the concept of pacifism, which also emphasizes the need for attention to interpersonal relationships (Darnton 1973: 110).

Tiedermann (2011) understands peace as a state and at the same time as a pursuit of it. Peace as a condition could be understood as the freedom from hazard and as a consensus, which should be applied to both the internal (peace with oneself) and the external (peace with other people) relationships. According to Tiedermann (2011), peace can only be achieved through active efforts and is ultimately the achievement of troublesome actions.

Senghaas (1952) argues that peace is a process of civilization. Peace should, therefore, be understood as nonviolent and focused on the prevention of violent political processes. Comprehension and compromise should be the basis for coexistence in society, in states and among peoples. A secure existence, a sense of justice and a life interest should not be challenged in a way where all peaceful means to protect these paradigms are exhausted and the only way to defend oneself would be to choose the path of violence (Senghaas 1952: 222).

Matsuo (2007) clarifies that in the early years of peace research the assumption regarding the concept of peace was based on the fact that peace is the opposite of war. Therefore, peace was simply defined as the absence of war and violence. This partial and narrow definition of peace can be explained by a strong motivation emerging from the tragedies of the Second World War and the existing danger of nuclear war between two superpowers during the Cold War (Matsuo 2005: 19). To sum up, it can be said that the concept of peace at the time consisted of only one factor, namely the absence of war.

Regarding the concept of war, proponents of early peace research have made two implicit assumptions. Firstly, war was seen as a fight between the great powers, consisting only of states. Secondly, war was defined as symmetrical, which implied a fight between states or alliances of states against equivalent powers. However, these assumptions did not take into account the important field of asymmetric warfare in developing countries and internal conflicts (Matsuo 2005: 45-47). For this reason, the narrow definition of war turned out to be less and less useful, and therefore several peace researchers began to ask whether the absence of war would be a sufficient factor to define peace (Matsuo 2007: 13-17).

Galtung (1996) provides two definitions of peace that are more extensive than the above-mentioned attempts to describe the term of peace. Moreover, these two definitions are detached from the idea of describing peace only by the absence of war and focus accordingly on the human being in a social environment:

- «*Peace is the absence/reduction of violence of all kinds.*»
- «*Peace is nonviolent and creative conflict transformation.*» (Galtung 1996: 9)

The first definition is to be classified as violence-oriented. Correspondingly, if peace research is to be conducted, the source of violence must be understood. The second definition is conflict-oriented. This approach tackles the idea of peace by identifying the source of conflicts and how these conflicts can be transformed in a nonviolent way. In addition, Galtung (2001) made an important distinction between two manifestations of peace – negative and positive peace.

- *Negative peace* implies the absence of direct personal violence to avert war or to stop violence (absence of physical violence).
- *Positive peace* is a condition where nonviolence, ecological sustainability, and social justice remove the causes of violence (absence of structural violence).

The distinction between negative and positive peace is especially important concerning a possible future peace process. While the first step to reach peace will be made by achieving a status within a society which fulfills the requirement of the negative peace definition, the long-term objective is to reach the status of positive peace (Galtung 1996, 2001, Harris 2002).

Furthermore, the distinction between negative and positive peace made by Galtung (1969) offered multiple understandings of peace that existed simultaneously. In addition, Galtung (1969) called for a larger concept of violence. If peace was to be explained as a negative and positive manifestation, violence had to be as well. Accordingly, he defined the concept of violence in three different ways:

- *Direct violence*, which refers to physical and verbal violence.
- *Structural violence*, which can be described as a system of injustice that fuels direct violence.
- *Cultural violence*, which can be defined as mores and practices that legitimize acts of violence.

Negative peace, therefore, refers to the elimination of direct, structural and cultural violence, while positive peace refers to the substitution of violence by equitable social interactions, structures and customs (Munroe 2012: 4-7).

Besides the definition of peace, Galtung (1981) was also one of the first to classify various spheres of peace. In this context, he categorized three types of peace areas. Firstly, *the universalist peace sphere*, in which the world is seen as the only dimension and only world peace is considered a meaningful peace. A representative concept of the universalist sphere is the Roman concept of «*pax*». Secondly, *the in-group/out-group peace sphere* which divides the world into two parts. On the one hand, it is the own group and on the other hand, it is the out-group. In general, it is possible to distinguish between «*self*» and «*others*». The factors being used for the distinction of the in-group or the out-group can be political, economic, cultural, religious or geographical. Within this concept, the interest is in peace within the in-group and pays little attention to the out-groups. And third, the *inward-oriented sphere* of peace, which focuses on the tranquility of the individual's mind (Matsuo 2007: 19-21).

In addition to Galtung's (1981) spheres, Nicklas (1996) argued that peace can be analyzed on three different levels: the individual level (micro-level), the level of society and state (meso level) as well as the level of the international system (macro-level). The respective levels determine the frame of reference within which negative and positive peace can be achieved (Drössler Bakk 2008: 47-48).

Since Galtung (1985) got his inspiration for adding positive peace to the previously existing negative definition of peace from the health sciences (Baljit 2003: 2), the next chapter deals with an in-depth analysis of the *diagnosis-prognosis-therapy* triangle.

4.2 THE DIAGNOSIS – PROGNOSIS – THERAPY TRIANGLE

Within peace studies, the triangle of diagnosis-prognosis-therapy, which has its origins in health studies, is often applied. Both health and peace studies share the idea of a well-state/ill-state system. The word pairs «*health – disease*» from health studies and «*peace – violence*» from peace studies are to be understood as a kind of specification of this general well-state/ill-state label. Within the framework of peace studies, both peace and violence require diagnosis/analysis. If for any reason, the system falls out of its well-state and exhibits symptoms of an ill-state, the need for an accurate prognosis as to whether the system is able to restore itself to the well-state or whether interventions are needed is obvious. The third point of reference in the

triangle is therapy, which includes deliberate efforts to move the system back to a well-state (Galtung 1996: 1, 24-30).

Simplified and adapted to peace studies, the diagnosis-prognosis-therapy triangle can be applied within a conflict as follows:

- *Diagnosis*: State of violence
- *Prognosis*: Process of violence; increase – same – decrease
- *Therapy*: Describes the process of violence reduction (negative peace) and the process of life improvement (positive peace)

To achieve peace by peaceful means, one could follow the diagnosis-prognosis-therapy triangle and choose the adequate therapy, respectively the adequate peace-promoting instrument to ensure the long-term goal of positive peace (Galtung 1996: 1, 24-30). A solution for peacebuilding can only be found with a clear understanding of the source of violence based on the respective diagnosis.

The different definitions of peace and the various spheres in which peace can be achieved, combined with the health science approach of the diagnosis-prognosis-therapy triangle, now make it possible to identify different pathways for the long road towards peace.

4.3 ROADS TO PEACE

The creation of peace, both negative and positive peace, obviously has to do with the reduction of violence (*cure*) and the avoidance of violence (*prevention*). As explained in the previous sections, violence can be divided into three concepts: direct violence, structural violence and cultural violence. Whereas direct violence can be divided into physical and verbal violence, structural violence can be divided into a political, repressive and an economic, exploitative dimension, all of which are reinforced by structural marginalization, fragmentation and segmentation (Galtung 1996: 2).

Furthermore, cultural violence can be divided into different contents such as ideology, religion, law and language. Its function is quite simple, as it legitimizes direct and structural violence. To recap, violence is an issue in culture, politics and economics, as well as indirect execution in the form of direct violence. Within these categorizations a new concept with four dimensions becomes visible, the concept of power. According to Galtung (1996), this concept is broader than the concept of violence or peace. The following four types of power can be defined in

relation to the above discourse: political, military, economic and cultural (Galtung 1996: 2, 24-31).

By bringing together the two different peace definitions and the power dimensions, eight combinations can be determined. Through the «*therapy-approach*» potential policy solutions can be formulated in each section (cf. Table 1).

Table 1: Roads to peace: «The Eightfold Path» according to Galtung (1996: 3)

		PEACE	
		NEGATIVE PEACE	POSITIVE PEACE
POWER	POLITICAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Democratize States <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Human rights all over – Direct democracy – Decentralization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Democratize UN <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Equal power – Direct elections – Confederations
	MILITARY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Defensive defense – Delegitimize arms – Non-military-defense 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Peacekeeping forces – Non-military skills – International peace brigades
	ECONOMIC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Self-reliance 1.0 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Internalize externalities – Use own factors – Also, locally 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Self-reliance 2.0 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Share externalities – Horizontal exchange – South-South cooperation
	CULTURAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Challenge <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Singularism – Universalism – Chosen people, ideas – Violence, war – Dialogue <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Between hard and soft 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Global Civilization <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – A Center everywhere – Relaxed time – Holistic, global – Nature, partnership – Equality, justice – Life enhancement

4.4 A POINT OF DEPARTURE

As peace is definable in many different ways and involves several additional concepts and dimensions, it is a rather elusive concept. Nevertheless, the previous explanations allowed us to reduce the concept to the most important components.

With regard to the theory building in the context of this dissertation, the following theoretical aspects of the peace concept will be decisive for the new theoretical framework of *«sport as bridge-building activity and a tool to promote peace»*:

- There are two main definitions of peace that play an important role amongst scholars. Negative peace deals with the process of violence reduction, whereas positive peace describes the process of life improvement. This dissertation will address the question of whether sport as a peacebuilding instrument is an adequate tool for achieving positive peace. Nevertheless, both concepts – positive and negative peace – are considered important with regard to a potential peacebuilding process in the future. The first step towards peace will inevitably be made by achieving a non-violent environment within society (negative peace). The second step, as well as the long-term objective of peace, is to achieve the condition for positive peace. Therefore, both definitions will be used for the new theoretical framework.
- All three categories of violence – direct, structural and cultural – play an important role in elaborating appropriate policies to achieve sustainable positive peace. To achieve the condition of negative peace, it is necessary to isolate direct, structural and cultural violence, whereas to accomplish positive peace it is necessary to substitute violence with equitable social interactions, structures and customs.
- Regarding the different peace spheres and manifestations, a focus will be set on the in-group/out-group peace sphere with a focus on the in-group. Furthermore, a focus will be set on the individual level (micro-level) where interpersonal relations play a key role, as well as on the society and state level (meso level), where the interactions between members of society and governing power are the most relevant.
- In order to achieve peace by peaceful means, one could follow the diagnosis-prognosis-therapy triangle and select the adequate policy, respectively the adequate peacebuilding instrument. To achieve a positive peace, the source of the conflict must be identified and understood. To understand the post-conflict peacebuilding process within a divided society, this dissertation aims to investigate the source of ethnic conflict. A solution for peacebuilding can only be found with a clear understanding of the source of violence.
- Overall peace should be understood as a multiple theoretical construct, which appears as a condition that can only be achieved through a nonviolent process and a process of violence prevention.

5 ETHNIC CONFLICTS

5.1 ETHNIC GROUPS IN CONFLICT

Ethnic conflicts are political tensions, disputes, violence and warfare between ethnic groups and are a worldwide phenomenon. Unfortunately, extended conflicts concerning the demands and rights of ethnic groups have caused greater misery and casualty than any other type of conflict since the end of the Second World War (Gurr/Harff 2004: 1).

«Ethnic conflict and quest for self-determination around the world are likely to be the most important factors... in the next decades... this phenomenon should not be seen as separate from other global problems, such as terrorism, failed states, rivalry among the great powers, access to natural resources, and clashes between the modern and the traditional, or between the rich and the poor» (Callahan 2002: 2).

In following the definitions of peace and the logic of the diagnosis-prognosis-therapy triangle, the debate concerning the source of conflict is indispensable. The right *«therapy»* can only be chosen with a deep knowledge of the source of conflict. As the research question addresses the question of peace promotion in divided societies, the following chapters will approach the issue of ethnic conflicts and their specific foundations.

5.1.1 ETHNIC IDENTITY

Before entering into in-depth research on ethnic groups in conflict, the question of *‘what is ethnic identity?’* should first be discussed. Since Horowitz (1985), there has been a common sense among political scientist regarding the classification of certain identities as *ethnos*. In Horowitz’s (1985) line of argument, ethnicity symbolizes an umbrella concept, which incorporates groups that can be distinguished by skin color, religion and language. Furthermore, it includes nationalities, races, tribes and castes (Horowitz 1985: 53).

Nowadays, a constructivist definition of ethnicity is predominately assumed. Constructivist theory defines ethnic identity as a socially constructed and fluid entity. It is also assumed that it can be formed by various means such as conquest, colonialization, or immigration (Wimmer 2008, Williams 2015). In this context, ethnic groups are recognized as social constructions with *«identifiable origins and histories of expansion and contradiction amalgamation and division»* (Posner 2004: 2).

The following definitions of ethnic identity are the most widely used in literature to date:

- According to Max Weber (1978), ethnic groups are those groups of people who, in their mutual ancestry, have a subjective conviction based on the resemblance of physical type, customs and morals, or on common memories of migration or colonization. This conviction is particularly relevant to the transmission of groupings. Within this definition, the existence of a blood relationship is irrelevant (Hutchinson/Smith 1996: 35).
- According to Horowitz (1985), ethnic groups are based on a myth of common forefathers, whereby the characteristic features worn are assumed to be inherent. However, the idea of attribution and affinity derived from it are not possible to separate from the above-mentioned concept of ethnicity (Horowitz 1985: 52).
- Smith (1996) defined ethnic groups as a named human population based on myths of mutual ancestry and shared historical memories as well as elements of a common culture. Furthermore, the group is associated with a homeland and a sense of group solidarity (Hutchinson/Smith 1996: 6).
- Fearon and Laitin (2000) defined ethnic groups as a group larger than a family whose affiliation is mainly related to common ancestry. The group is conceptually autonomous and has a recognized common indigenous history as a group (Fearon/Laitin 2000: 20).
- According to Eriksen (2002), ethnic groups are defined by relationships between group members who do not consider themselves culturally interchangeable. They are also perceived as such by others. It distinguishes between urban ethnic minorities; e.g. non-European immigrants in European cities, indigenous peoples and aboriginal inhabitants of a specific territory, proto-nations belonging to «*ethno nationalist*» movements, ethnic groups in pluralistic societies designed by colonial powers, and post-slave minorities composed of a group of descendants of former slaves (Eriksen 2002: 14-16).
- Fearon (2003) refined his initial definition of an ethnic group. Within his new approach, he defines an ethnic group as one that includes one of the following characteristics. (1) Affiliation is principally counted by ancestry, (2) members are aware of their group membership, (3) members share specific cultural characteristics, (4) these cultural characteristics are recognized by the majority of the group members, (5) the group remembers or holds a homeland, and (6) the group has a common history that has a basis (Fearon 2003: 7).

- Gurr and Harff (2004) defined ethnic groups as psychological communities whose members share an existing sense of common interest. Furthermore, their identity is based on shared historical experiences and cultural characteristics such as homeland, beliefs, language and ways of life (Gurr/Harff 2004: 3).

Almost all definitions within the different above-mentioned approaches agree that ancestry has some significance in describing ethnic groups. The approaches differ in the specific role of ancestry and whether and to what extent other characteristics should be combined with it to specify the concept of an ethnic group. In summary, the role of ancestry can be determined in four different ways. (1) Mutual ancestry, (2) a myth of mutual ancestry, (3) a myth of a mutual place of origin, and (4) an «*ancestry-rule*» for membership. These characteristics combined with ancestry, include a mutual culture and language, a mutual history, as well as a conceptual autonomy. In this context, Chandra (2006) points out that all these theories have not yet demonstrated – on a basis of analytical grounds – that ethnic identity categories, as defined, should have explanatory effects on the outcomes of interest. Therefore, the concept of ethnic identity could also be substituted with concepts such as ancestry-based identities or identities based on visible characteristics (Chandra 2006: 400-422).

Research on social identity and the sources of group boundaries has shown that a positive social identity is often achieved by comparing one's own group with other groups, in order to create a psychological peculiarity for the in-group that is positively assessed in relation to the out-group (Oberschall 2007: 4). In-group relationships are based on trust and create more compared to interactions with strangers. Due to preferences for the in-group, the establishment and maintenance of joint institutions with the out-group often turns out to be difficult. In multiethnic societies, ethnicity often finds its way into a myriad of issues, which in turn, often erupt in violent conflict (Horowitz 1985, Oberschall 2007: 3-5).

5.1.2 HISTORICAL PROCESSES AS CONFLICT TRIGGERS

Most states are multiethnic. What state an ethnic group is located in, whether a particular ethnic group is larger or smaller in relation to other ethnic groups, whether the ethnic group is a majority or a minority, whether it is integrated in or excluded from political power, and whether it dominates or is subordinated to political institutions are the complex results of empire-building, state-building, state break-ups, and wars. A society can be described as divided if the relationships between ethnic groups are hostile rather than cooperative. Quantitative analyses of all kinds of civil wars since the Second World War, including ethnic conflicts, have shown

that various measures of ethnic division in a country are positively correlated with the risk of violent conflict (Horowitz 1985: 3-12, Oberschall 2007: 1).

Ethnic conflicts are a recurring phenomenon. Depending on the context, ethnicity is either more or less prominent. The international environment and its international politics play an important role in the emergence and degeneration of ethnic conflicts. Such conflicts are in many cases overshadowed by international warfare and covered by experiences of war. In addition, ethnic conflicts often arise shortly after warfare, as they did after the First and the Second World Wars, for example. The popular diffusion of the doctrine of national self-determination often fueled ethnic sentiments. After independence, the context and the associated issues changed. The struggle against colonial domination and foreign powers was no longer an issue. At last, the state system of the post-colonial period, which today encompasses the entire world, provides the frame within ethnic conflicts occur. The control of «*the*» or «*a*» state as well as the liberation from control by others are the main objectives of ethnic conflicts (Horowitz 1985: 4-5).

International factors can, therefore, be seen as the shapers and reshapers of potential ethnic conflict, the issues at stake, as well as the lines of cleavages between combating groups. According to Gurr and Harff (2004), there are three general issues within the field of ethnic conflict: (1) the stress ratio between the state system and ethnic identities, (2) the impact of the end of the Cold War on disputes between people and nations, and (3) changes in the international response to ethnic conflict. Since the 1960s, an increasing number of ethnic groups have started to claim more recognition and self-determination rights. Such claims are now recognized as the main source of domestic and international conflict in the Post-Cold War period. In the most violent ethnic conflicts, the protagonists want to establish independence or at least autonomy within existing state borders. Additionally, ethnic conflicts occur within a super- and subordinated ethnic group structure, in which the subordinated group tries to improve its status within the existing boundaries of a state (Gurr/Harff 2004: 5-11).

Current ethnic conflicts are part of the legacy of historical processes such as imperial conquest, colonial rule, slavery and international labor migration. For instance, each state which once installed an empire did so at the expense of a weaker and less fortunate group of people. Even though colonial rule can be considered a trigger of ethnic conflicts, it has not created ethnic identities. On the other hand, colonial rule led to classification and division of colonized people along ethnic lines (Gurr/Harff 2004: 21). Grievances and divided identities resulted from imperial conquest and colonial rule can last for several generations. Therefore, ethnically

divided societies were fertile ground for ethnic conflicts when newly formed African and Asian states gained their independence during the two decades following the Second World War. As already mentioned above, the new states were mostly ethnically heterogeneous and the inherited frontiers were drawn to correspond with the political interests of the colonial powers. In some cases, hostile ethnic groups have been merged into a single novel state (e.g. Albanian minorities in Serbia and North Macedonia or Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina). In other cases, ethnic groups were divided into several states (e.g. Kurds as a minority in Turkey, Syria and Iraq). By and large, each of the main historical processes left behind a legacy of inequalities and contrasts that fuel current ethnic conflicts. Indigenous people demand the reestablishment of their place of origin, conquered people seek to regain their lost autonomy, and descendants of slaves and immigrant workforces demand full equality (Gurr/Harff 2004: 20-23).

5.1.3 DIMENSIONS OF ETHNIC CONFLICTS

Ethnic identity is an intensively felt affiliation that manifests itself in normatively accepted behavior based on ethnicity. As already mentioned, ethnicity was and still is often associated with violence, especially in the form of hostile actions against outgroups. Of course, reducing and simplifying politics to the common denominator of ethnic relations is not possible. Even in the most severely divided societies, there are other issues. Nevertheless, in deeply divided societies it becomes visible that strong ethnic loyalties infiltrate organizations, activities and functions with which they are not officially linked. The infiltrative nature of ethnic memberships gives ethnic conflicts a ubiquitous quality and increases the importance of ethnic politics by infusing many sectors of social life. The tendencies triggered by ethnic affiliations in divided societies are easy to identify. The appearance of ethnicity is reflected in a variety of issues such as development concepts, disputes regarding the education sector, trade union affairs, land policy as well as business and tax policies. Normally, these are issues that would otherwise be related to the category of routine administration, but which become central to the political agenda of ethnically divided societies. In societies where ethnicity encompasses social and organizational life, virtually all political actions and decisions have ethnic consequences. Elections may divide where political parties break along ethnic lines. Where the military is ethnically fragmented, the armed forces might secure power at the expense of other ethnic groups. These examples show that within divided societies, ethnic conflict is part of daily politics. Therefore, ethnic division raises a challenge to the cohesion of states and, occasionally, peaceful relations between neighboring states (Horowitz 1985: 7-12).

Similar to Eriksen's (2002) definition of ethnic identity, Gurr and Harff (2004) point to four relevant types of politically active ethnic groups that coexist within modern states: (1) ethnonationalists, (2) indigenous peoples, (3) ethnoclasses, and (4) communal contenders.

On closer inspection, Gurr and Harff (2004) emphasize the importance of ethnic group differentiation, as they aggregate much information about people's history, their social status and their political agendas. People who can be assigned to the first two groups were once politically independent and want either independence or at least autonomy from the current state. The Kurds, for example, can be assigned to the group of ethnonationalists. As an ethnic group, they want to establish or re-establish their own state. Another example are the Albanians in Macedonia or the Russians in Ukraine, who strive to strengthen deep relations with their national homelands. The main concern of indigenous people like Native Americans is the protection of their traditional land and the associated resources and community culture within an existing country. On the other hand, ethnic groups that can be assigned to the ethnoclasses and communal contenders aim to improve their status and position within existing societies without changing political boundaries. African-Americans are decedents from slaves and Turks in Germany are decedents from immigrants. Both ethnic groups – even if they differ in their origin – belong to the ethnoclass and want to break out of the social and economic oppression led by the dominant part of society. Furthermore, ethnoclasses are part of a hierarchical society in which ethnic groups are ranked. The group of communal contenders are members of a segmented society. Due to the approximate equality of ethnic and religious groups, there is competition for political and economic power (Eriksen 2002: 14-16, Gurr/Harff 2004: 9-19).

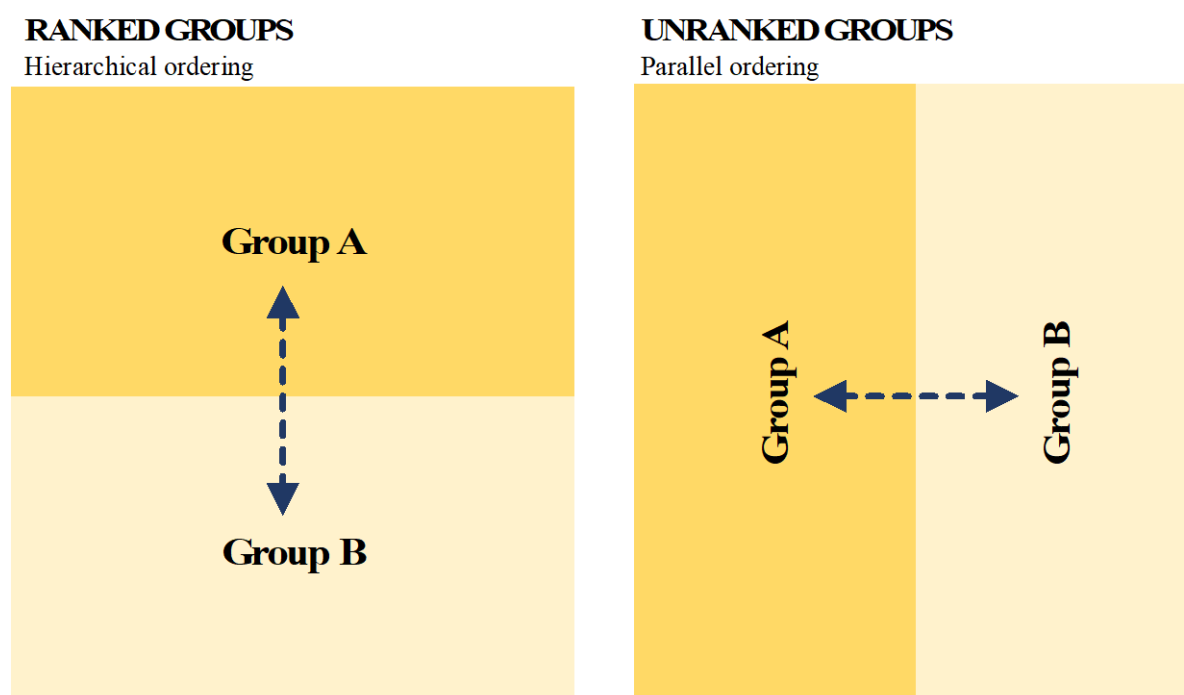
Another topic that belongs to the dimensions of ethnic conflict is the already mentioned hierarchical system of ethnic groups within society and the connection with the general confusion about the relationship between ethnicity and class. Normally it can be assumed that ethnicity and class are two different kinds of dimensions of society. Nevertheless, they overlap somehow, which can lead to confusion. However, a great deal of this potential misunderstanding can be dissolved by understanding the distinction between ranked and unranked ethnic groups. The distinction is based on whether or not ethnicity coincides with the social class. In both cases, Horowitz (1985) speaks of ranked ethnic groups. If social class and ethnicity are cross-cutting, it is possible to talk about unranked groups (Horowitz 1985: 22).

Figure 2 shows the ordered and unordered ethnic systems between two groups (*A and B*), whereby the arrows indicate the direction of the ethnic conflict. If both ethnic groups are

arranged in a hierarchy with a superior (*group A*) and a subordinate (*group B*), the ethnic conflict shifts in a vertical direction. In contrast, when groups are parallel, the ethnic conflict takes a horizontal course. Ranked systems (e.g. Hutu and Tutsi in Burundi, Rodiya and Sinhalese in Sri Lanka) are generally established by conquest or capture. The subsequent domination leads to the production of lower and upper ranks clientage relationships and an ideology of inferiority for the subordinate groups.

Unranked systems (e.g. Malays, Chinese and Indians in Malaysia), on the other hand, are established by invasion (less than conquest), by «voluntary» migration, or by the unification of different ethnic groups within a single territorial unit – or by a combination of all these possibilities (Horowitz 1985: 22-29).

Figure 2: Ethnic systems according to Horowitz (1985: 22)



As the boundaries of the ranked ethnic groups largely coincide with the class lines, ethnic conflicts in the ranked system are tinged with class conflicts. Therefore, the form of a social revolution takes place in times of war. Within unranked systems, it is completely different. There, ethnic groups act as a «state» of an international system and are concerned about the politics of inclusion and exclusion. When ethnic violence occurs, unranked groups usually aim to attain sovereign autonomy, exclude parallel ethnic groups from power-sharing, and often aim to return to an idealized, ethnically homogeneous status quo (Horowitz 1985: 30-31).

5.2 CAUSES OF ETHNIC CONFLICTS

Given that most countries are multiethnic and shaped by historical processes, several ethnic dimensions on the political stage involve fertile grounds for potential ethnic conflicts. In the following subsections, the general motives for conflict will be discussed with a strong focus on the two dominant explanations for conflict: greed and grievance.

5.2.1 CONFLICT MOTIVES

There are several reasons why ethnic conflicts lead to violence. Gurr (2016) introduced the basic *frustration-aggression* approach. This assumption refers to the idea that the greater the frustration, the greater the level of aggression against the source of frustration or more specifically, the greater the intensity of deprivation, the greater the extent of violence.

In general, it can be distinguished between three different forms of political violence (1) turmoil, (2) conspiracy, and (3) internal war. Turmoil can be described as a relatively spontaneous and unorganized form of political violence. It involves substantial participation of the population using acts of violence such as violent political strikes, clashes, riots and restricted rebellions. In contrast, conspiracy is defined as a highly organized form of political violence with limited participation in the form of political assassinations, minor terrorist attacks and guerilla wars as well as coups and mutinies. The third form of political violence, the internal war, is also a highly organized act of violence. It includes a large number of popular participations and is intended to overthrow the ruling regime or break up the state with massive violence (Gurr 2016: 8-14).

There are quite a lot of different approaches that try to explain why ethnic groups end up fighting. Existing psychological theories explain the origins of human aggression by linking relative deprivation and collective violence. The most relevant theories based on psychology are those dealing with the sources and manifestations of human aggression, notwithstanding of culture. Three psychological assumptions regarding potential sources of human aggression can be distinguished: (1) instinctive aggression, (2) learned aggression, and (3) natural response-aggression activated by frustration. Among these assumptions, the frustration-aggression mechanism seems to be the primary source of political violence, with the basic explanatory element being the principle of anger acting as a drive (Gurr 2016: 30-37).

Posen (1993) understood ethnic conflicts as a struggle between ethnic groups in the suction of state collapse. Thus, according to neorealist theory, ethnic groups face the security dilemma of

the disappearing *Leviathan*, where preemptive violence seems to be the only available reaction. These approaches were later further elaborated with the support of rational choice models. However, Cederman (2010) pointed out that this research tends to overlook the essential role occupied by state actors in primarily producing these conflicts. In the absence of state agency, political violence would rather occur in the form of communal conflict than as a full-fledged civil war (Cederman et al. 2010: 2-3).

Another research examined the conditions under which minorities would mobilize against state power and under which conditions such mobilization would turn into acts of violence. Scholars have inter alia examined the potential consequences of economic, political, and cultural discrimination, domestic diversion mechanism, the dynamics of secessionist negotiations, and the government's response to autonomy claims of ethnic minorities. Cederman (2010) concluded that the literature based on this stream of research produced two conflicting results: While some argue that political disadvantage affects the likelihood of political violence, others argue that the extent of political exclusion does not influence the outbreak of violence. According to Cederman (2010), these contradictory findings result from a failure to understand the role of the state correctly or, more precisely, due to the failure to take into account the ethnopolitical configuration at the center of state power (Cederman et al. 2010: 4-6).

When trying to explain the source of ethnic conflicts today, the following two approaches dominate the debate. The first approach explains the occurrence of rebellion with severe *grievances* along ethnic lines that ultimately lead to violent protests. The other doctrine argues with the motivation of *greed* as the main cause of civil war outbreak (Cederman et al. 2010: 4-6).

5.2.2 GREED AND GRIEVANCES

According to Fearon and Laitin (2003), the outbreak of a civil war cannot be explained with ethnicity or religious character but is instead caused by conditions that favor insurgency. Such conditions include poverty, weak states, recruitment of rebels, political instability, impassable terrain and large populations. Research by Fearon and Laitin (2003) concludes that conditions that favor insurgency are better predictors than indicators of ethnic and religious diversity or measures of grievance such as economic inequality, lack of democracy, civil liberties, or state discrimination against minorities. According to the authors, it is the opportunity costs of fighting that determine whether people join an insurgency. If economic opportunities are poor, the opportunity costs of fighting are low, and life as a rebel may seem attractive to young men.

For Fearon and Laitin (2003), it seems quite clear that intense grievances are the consequences and not the cause of civil wars (Fearon/Laitin 2003: 75-90).

Collier and Hoeffler (2004) also try to explain civil wars with the two prevailing approaches of greed and grievance. Like Fearon and Laitin (2003), they conclude that objective indicators of grievances add little clarity to the initial question, whereas the focus on opportunities for rebellion leads to better outcomes. They state that one of the main factors nourishing opportunity (*greed*) is the availability of financial resources. Further push factors regarding the concept of greed are the cost of rebellion and military advantage. Most of the proxies for grievance they tested were insignificant. Only ethnic dominance, i.e. an ethnic group as the majority, had adverse effects. However, the effects of social fractionalization even weakened this finding: societies categorized according to ethnic and religious diversity are safer than homogeneous societies as long as they avoid dominance. Opportunity as an explanation of conflict is consistent with the economic interpretation of rebellion as greed-motivated (Collier/Hoeffler 2003: 563-595).

Cederman (2010) examined the influence of ethnic power inequality on civil war and found that exclusion and competition along ethnic lines are strongly linked to internal conflicts. It is likely that large ethnic groups excluded from state power or underrepresented in government will use violent means to challenge the regime. Moreover, a loss of power in recent history or previous conflicts increases the likelihood of armed conflict. In contrast to Collier and Hoeffler (2004) and Fearon and Laitin (2003), Cederman (2010) was able to prove that ethnic grievances are explanatory factors for civil war. Half of the conflicts fought since the Second World War can be linked to the dynamics of the ethnopolitical struggle for state power (Cederman et al. 2010: 87-119).

More precise explanations of ethnic power inequalities, grievances and ethnic conflicts will be discussed in the following section.

5.2.3 ETHNIC POWER INEQUALITY

In line with previous discussions, it becomes obvious that inequality caused by the distribution of power and wealth plays a central role in explaining the outbreak of ethnic conflicts. The starting point for explaining ethnic outbreaks of conflict is therefore based on the fact that ethnic groups find themselves in completely different situations for various historical reasons. Firstly, some ethnic groups have been at the forefront of the geopolitical game. On the other hand, other

ethnic groups were conquered and colonized and subsequently lost in the game of power, influence and wealth. In accordance with this starting point, Cederman (2013) examined the role of grievances by observing the link between inequalities and the outbreak of war in two steps. Firstly, he explains how structural asymmetries related to political and economic inequalities trigger grievances. Secondly, he shows how grievances may cause violent conflicts (Cederman et al. 2013: 11, 35-36).

Figure 3: From inequalities, via grievances to ethnic conflict, according to Cederman et al. (2013: 36).

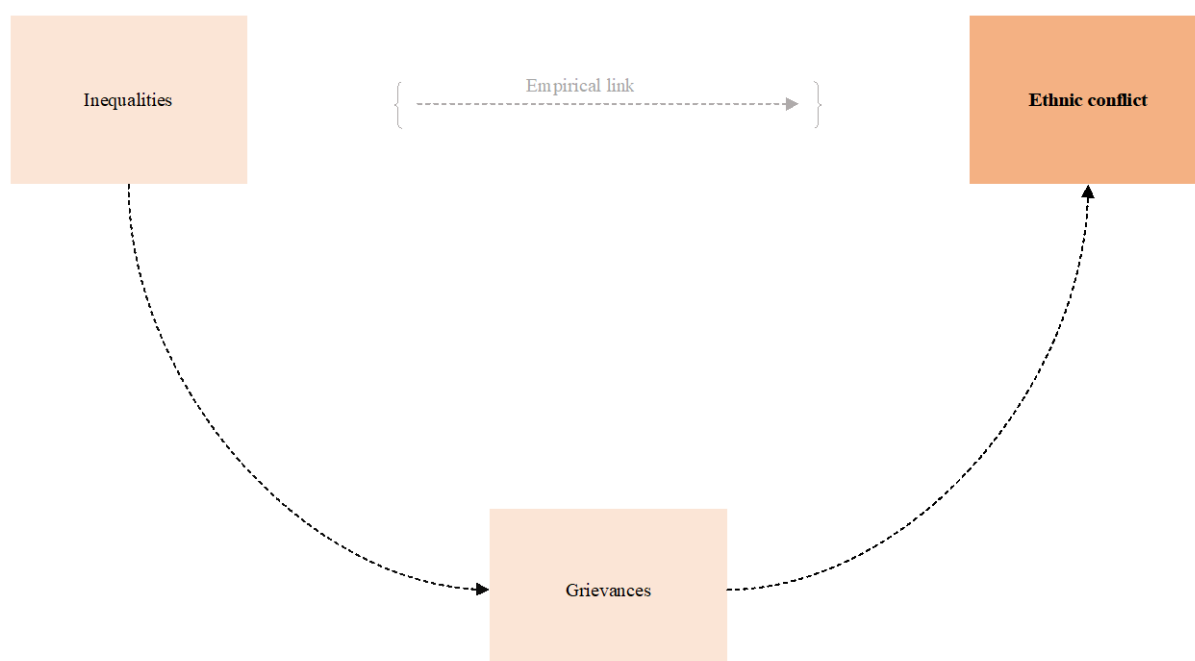


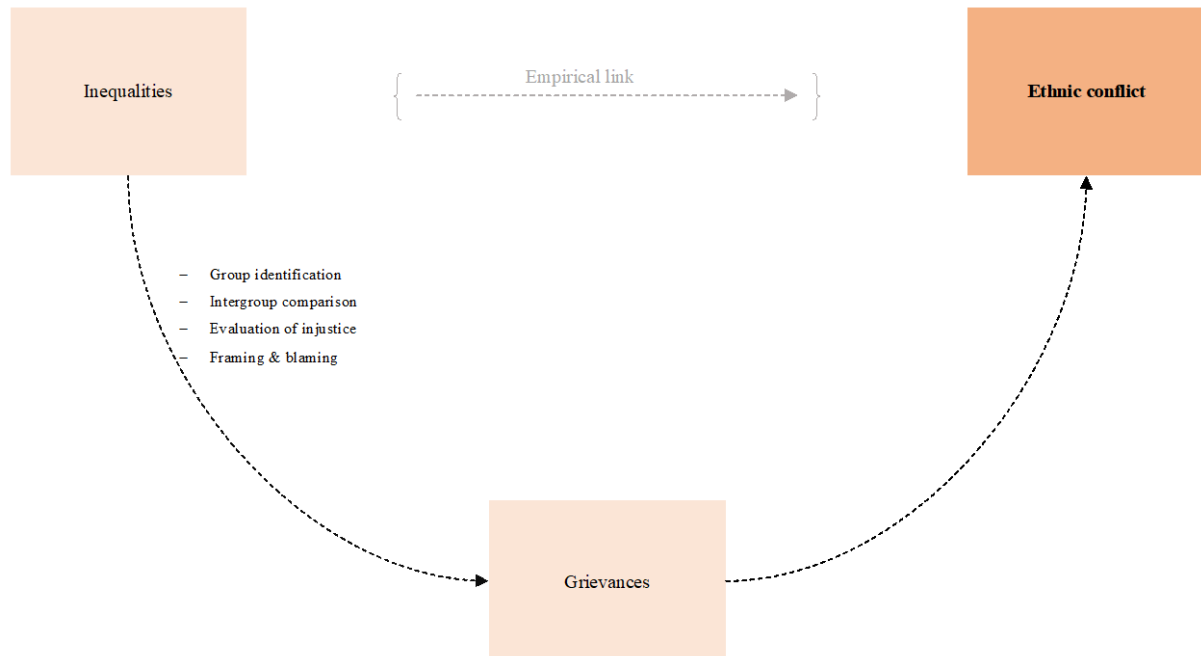
Figure 3 and also the subsequent Figures 4 and 5 explain the causal pathway from inequalities to grievances to the outbreak of ethnic conflicts. Cederman (2013) emphasizes that it is important to understand that his line of argument is more probabilistic than deterministic. In other words, not all kind of inequalities lead to grievances and not all grievances cause violence.

Figure 4 illustrates the pathway from inequalities to grievances, whereby group identification, intergroup comparison, evaluation of injustice as well as framing and blaming can be understood as intermediate steps within the process (Cederman et al. 2013: 11, 35-36). Inequalities presuppose well-defined groups. As the goal is to have a better understanding of ethnic conflict breakouts, ethnic groups can be identified as discussed in *chapter 5.1.1* according to the concept of ethnic categorization.

As the next step towards grievances, Cederman (2013) argues that there is a relational setting of different ethnic groups, within which individual members compare their status and wealth

with that of the other group. Actual and objectively measurable differences between ethnic groups will increase the likelihood of grievances. It is, therefore, necessary to evaluate, or at least identify, what the unfair or unequal part of the status quo is.

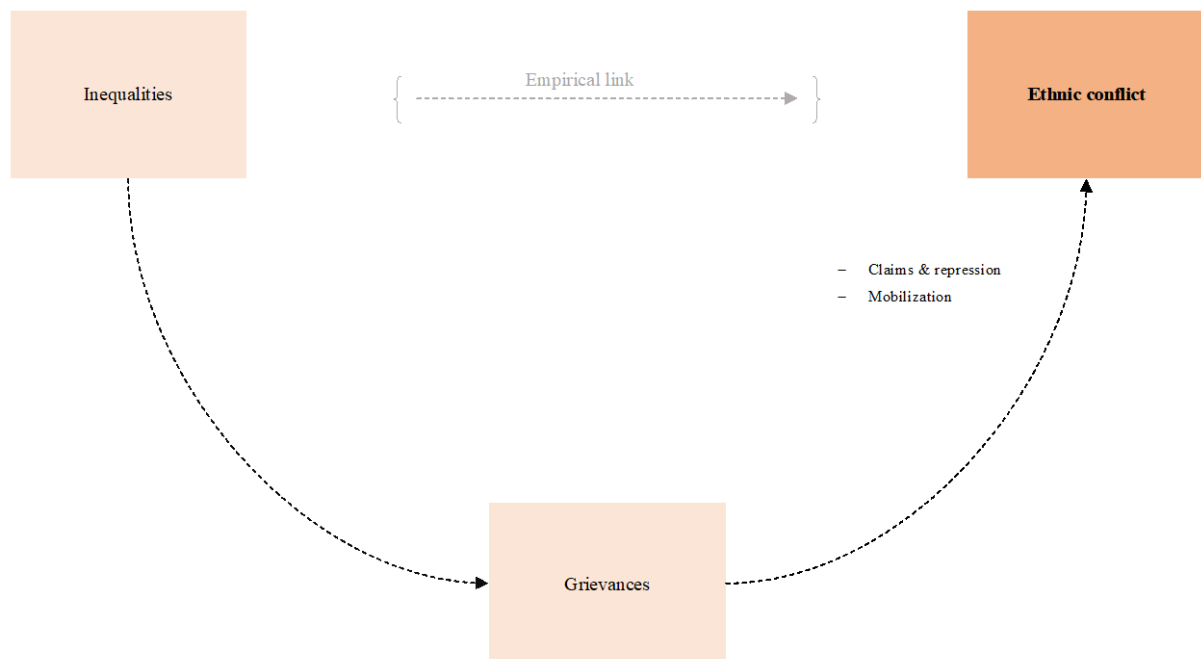
Figure 4: Causal pathway from inequalities to grievances, (Cederman et al. 2013: 37)



Finally, the final step from inequalities to grievances raises the question of who is responsible for the poor treatment. Social researchers have therefore introduced the notion of *injustice frames*, which describes members of a particular ethnic group as victims of social injustice. The part of the framing contains the identification of injustices that burden society (Cederman et al. 2013: 37-44).

Figure 5 illustrates the pathway from existing grievances to the outbreak of ethnic conflicts. Mobilization, as well as rebel claims and state repression, are key elements in explaining this particular pathway. The perception of injustice by ethnic groups creates grievances that prove to be ideal prerequisites for recruitment or mobilization. Based on the fact that grievances are inherently relational, violence- stimulating mobilization processes should be understood in a comparable relational context. How the established state elites react to mobilization and the associated potential anti-governmental threat depends on the nature of the claim. The persistent exclusion of mobilized groups from state power will tend to lead to acts of violence. Therefore, discrimination and chronic exclusion tend to lead to more radical reactions, including violent strategies on the side of the oppressed ethnic group (Cederman et al. 2013: 44-51).

Figure 5: Causal pathway from grievances to ethnic conflict, (Cederman et al. 2013: 44).



The overall message is clear – grievances stemming from inter-group inequalities are often at the base of ethnic conflicts. Cederman (2013) emphasizes that excluded groups are particularly at risk of conflict. As a consequence, ethnic groups that are excluded from or have limited access to central state power are more likely to engage in violent conflict. Furthermore, Cederman (2013) has also shown that ethnic groups that have recently suffered a loss of state power are particularly likely to engage in an internal war (Cederman et al. 2013: 205).

5.3 CONCLUSIONS FOR THEORY

At the beginning of this chapter, the need for an in-depth analysis of the causes of ethnic conflict was highlighted. Since the theory of ethnic conflict includes several subdivisions, everything had to be integrated into the greater examination to ensure that the overall picture of the main theory is comprehensible. With regard to this dissertations' aim to build a new theory, the following aspects of the aggregated components are fundamental for the continuation of this thesis:

- Ethnic conflicts include two main concepts: (1) ethnic group as a perceived group with defined characteristics regarding membership, (2) conflict as an umbrella term for various violent confrontations.
- There are several ways to define ethnic identity and, accordingly, to infer a particular affiliation to a particular ethnic group. The most important point with all the different

approaches is the fact that ancestry is essential for describing ethnic groups. The mutual ancestry or myth around this reciprocity is combined with the common history, culture, language, religion and physical characteristics. The diversity of ethnic groups and thus the range of ethnic groups within a society must always be kept in mind.

- Historical events shaped and reshaped today's world state system, which is the framework in which ethnic conflicts occur. Current ethnic conflicts can thus be seen as part of a legacy of historical processes that have led to grievances, inequalities and divided societies.
- There are different dimensions to ethnic conflict. For this reason, it is important to understand the position of ethnic groups within society, the historical processes behind the development of society, and the potential trigger for ethnic conflict.
- In multiethnic societies, ethnic loyalties may infiltrate organizations, activities and functions with which they are not officially associated. Where ethnicity covers social and organizational life, almost all political actions and decisions have ethnic significance.
- There are several reasons why ethnic conflicts break out. The frustration-aggression mechanism can be seen as the main source of political violence, where anger seems to be the stimulus for ethnic conflict. This anger can be explained by inequalities and the two different approaches that explain conflict outbreaks through greed and grievances.
- In the current scientific debate, there are two main approaches that explain why ethnic and civil wars break out. Since it does not seem realistic to overcome economic challenges (and the conflict created by them) through sport, the theoretical greed-approach, which defines the source of conflict with an economic explanation, does not seem to be applicable in the context of sport and peace.
- In contrast, the grievance-approach, which assumes that dominance, exclusion, inequality and oppression along ethnic lines generate grievances that stimulate civil war, seems to be the adequate theoretical approach for the framework of the dissertation. Inequality, exclusion and oppression must be eliminated and be replaced by trust, equality and inclusiveness. Sport could be an important tool in this transformation.

6 POST-CONFLICT PEACEBUILDING IN DIVIDED SOCIETIES

Peacebuilding is a widely used term that can be defined in many different ways and can vary in the type of activities and actors it encompasses. The first time the term peacebuilding emerged was more than 30 years ago by Johan Galtung. He invoked for the establishment of peacebuilding structures to achieve and to promote sustainable peace by addressing the sources of violent conflict. Since the *Agenda for Peace* of former UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali (1992), the peacebuilding term has experienced a veritable boom and has reached furthermore a multifaceted status of meanings (Chetail 2009: 1, Hug 2016, United Nation Peacebuilding Support Office 2010: 5).

«Preventive diplomacy seeks to resolve disputes before violence breaks out; peace-making and peace-keeping are required to halt conflicts and preserve peace once it is attained. If successful, they strengthen the opportunity for post-conflict peace-building, which can prevent the recurrence of violence among nations and peoples.» (United Nations 1992: Boutros-Ghali – Section II, Art. 21)

Based on this starting point and following the logic of the diagnosis-prognosis-therapy triangle, this chapter will address the different concepts and lines of thoughts with regard to the process of post-conflict peacebuilding in divided societies.

6.1 PEACEBUILDING

6.1.1 CONCEPTUAL ROOTS

Peacebuilding is principally about the process of achieving peace. Even though the peacebuilding process as such was applied in Europe and Japan after the Second World War as part of the reconstruction process, peacebuilding was neither conceptualized as a method of conflict resolution nor established until the 1960s to secure sustainable peace. Shortly after, Galtung (1975) developed a conflict triangle by laying out three different, complementary conflict resolution approaches: *peacekeeping*, *peacemaking* and *peacebuilding* (Warnecke/Franke 2010: 76).

As defined in *chapter 4.1*, negative peace describes the absence of direct and organized violence between human groups or nations, whereas positive peace is part of a long-term project that aims to establish peace through erasing the source that caused the conflict and by establishing cooperation between rival groups or nations. As mentioned earlier, Galtung (1996) identified three types of violence. Derived from these three forms of violence, he outlined the

complementary contents of the triangle as follows:

- *Peacekeeping* aims to end immediate violence and hostilities. Violence and destructiveness should be reduced through the use of instruments that guarantee and monitor ceasefires through neutral third-party military forces.
- *Peacemaking* seeks to resolve the conflict peacefully through the means of negotiation, mediation, or arbitration. The corresponding idea is to reconcile the conflicting interest and objectives that have primarily fueled the conflict.
- *Peacebuilding* tends to establish a sustainable peace by bringing into focus the root cause of the conflict. It emphasizes the long-term objective for the practical implementation of peaceful social change (Galtung 1975, Ramsbotham et al 2005: 187).

Furthermore, the UN concept of post-conflict peacebuilding has evolved from an essentially linear approach to a more integrated approach. In the course of this development, the UN actors involved agreed on the following conceptual basis for post-conflict peacebuilding.

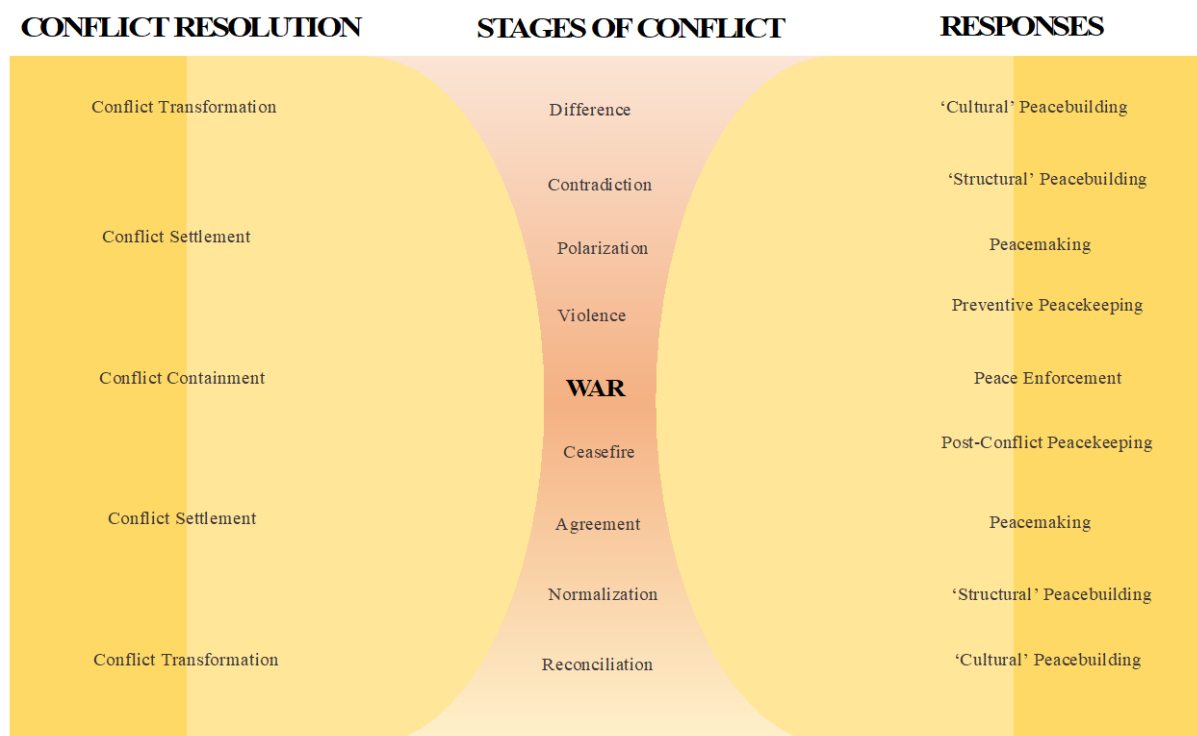
«Peacebuilding involves a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundation for sustainable peace and development. Peacebuilding strategies must be coherent and tailored to the specific needs of the country concerned based on national ownership and should comprise a carefully prioritized, sequenced and therefore relatively narrow set of activities aimed at achieving the above objectives.» (Chetail 2009: 4)

6.1.2 LINES OF THOUGHT

Peacebuilding processes are established through a variety of conflict resolution activities. Ramsbotham and Woodhouse (2005) developed the *hourglass model of conflict resolution*. Within this model, they combine the nature of conflict resolution efforts with conflict levels and adequate responses to these levels (Boehlke 2009: 17).

Figure 6 shows that conflict containment is the counterpart of peacekeeping, conflict settlement is the counterpart of peacemaking and, lastly, conflict transformation is the counterpart of peacebuilding. Within peacebuilding, a further distinction can be made between a structural and a cultural dimension. In line with this model, peacekeeping can be used either as a preventive or as a post-conflict instrument. In addition, war can only be fought with peace enforcement and with the first attempt to implement negative peace.

Figure 6: Hourglass model, according to Ramsbotham et al. (2005:12).



In accordance with the illustration in Figure 6 and the discussion within the previous chapter, three different schools of thoughts of current peacebuilding are presented below. The principal line of thoughts in the mainstream peacebuilding debate are the three schools of *conflict management*, *conflict resolution* and *conflict transformation*.

(1) *The Conflict Management School*. This approach follows the idea of ending wars by using various types of diplomatic initiatives. Compared to other approaches, it is the oldest school of thought on peacebuilding and it is furthermore associated with the institutionalization of peacebuilding in international law. According to the logic of this school of thought, peacebuilders are external diplomats from bilateral or multilateral organizations. Their main goal is to identify the key players of the conflict and to bring the leaders of the conflicting parties to the negotiation table. Consequently, peacebuilders focus primarily on the short-term management of violent conflicts.

(2) *The Conflict Resolution School*. Within this approach, the fundamental causes of conflict should be resolved, and destroyed relationships should be rebuilt between the opposing parties. At the beginning of the conflict resolution school, the approach was too strongly elite-based and was executed by mainly western academic institutions. But over time, the approach became a general civil society approach, which was grassroots-based including a wide spectrum of actors. Today, advocates of this school of thought address the source of conflicts by rebuilding

relationships and using a long-term solution-oriented approach. In most cases, peacebuilders are not represented by an international organization or government, but by international NGOs in cooperation with national and local NGOs. The main instruments used by peacebuilders are dialogue projects between hostile communities, peace education and conflict resolution training.

(3) *Conflict Transformation*. This approach focusses on the transformation of deeply rooted violent conflicts into a peaceful society. Lederach (1997) developed the first transformation-oriented approach, which was comprehensive and widely discussed. To overcome the dilemma between short-term conflict management and long-term relationship building, as well as the fundamental causes of conflict, the school's advocates suggest building a long-term peacebuilding infrastructure by supporting the potential of reconciliation in society. Rebuilding destroyed relationships, focusing on reconciliation and strengthening the peacebuilding potential of society are the main objectives of this approach. One of the major contributions is the shift in focus from the international level towards local actors.

These different approaches within the debate on peacebuilding concepts show that there is a broad spectrum in the application and implementation of a peacebuilding process. A solid theoretical reflection is therefore necessary when doing peace work (Paffenholz 2009: 3-6).

6.1.3 ESSENTIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PEACEBUILDING

In the early post-war period, most conflict-affected countries are characterized by substantial insecurity and political uncertainty. At this crucial moment, the peace processes that have been initiated may progress, but they may just as well suffer from regression. The struggling countries are most likely governed by transitional political actors, at least until the first post-conflict elections. Successful peacebuilding processes, therefore, depend on the political decisions of those in charge (effective leadership), those involved (national and local governments and communities) and on resources such as human capital and financial donations (United Nation Peacebuilding Support Office 2010: 5).

In the first place, peacebuilding is a national challenge that also involves domestic political responsibility. Peacebuilding processes are initiated within and for the citizens of the country and, together with the political actors in charge, they must take responsibility for paving the way for sustainable peace. As the national ownership is indispensable for a successful peacebuilding process, the development of national capacities must play a central role in all

peacebuilding efforts within the framework of the accession strategy, which begins immediately. In the course of the process, peacebuilding aims to get rid of external assistance as soon as it is no longer required by ensuring that the ongoing initiatives foster the development of national peacebuilding capacities. This is particularly challenging in the early stages of a peacebuilding process when the status of peace is still fragile and national capacity is severely limited (United Nation Peacebuilding Support Office 2010: 5-6).

The current literature divides peacebuilding into three phases over a particular period of time. Of course, the length of the phases depends on certain contexts in a specific conflict setting. The timeline of the following three phases should, therefore, be regarded as the ideal type of peacebuilding operation: (1) *short-term stabilization*, aims within the first three to twelve months of peacebuilding to establish a secure environment and manage the immediate consequences of the conflict. (2) During the *transition phase* (one to three years), the focus shifts from the immediate emergency assistance to a period of recovery, rehabilitation and reconstruction. Furthermore, this phase includes the election of a new government. (3) The *consolidation phase* (up to ten years) emphasizes the period of reconciliation and «*nation-building*» as well as the reinforcement of the rule of law, the security and the socio-economic sectors. The peacebuilding process ideally closes these three phases with a successful transformation of violent conflict into established, legitimated and effective political institutions, accompanied by the active engagement of civil society (de Coning 2006: 94, Warnecke/Franke 2010: 80).

For Galtung (2001), on the other hand, the entire peacebuilding process contains three key factors, known as the 3Rs, and are mandatory to be included in a peacebuilding process in order to achieve sustainable positive peace.

- *Reconstruction*, which provides for rehabilitation, rebuilding, restructuring, and reculturation.
- *Reconciliation*, which aims to rebuild the positive relations between former enemies who were both victims and perpetrators.
- *Resolution* of animosities (Galtung 2001: 1-9).

Under the assumption that all phases of peacebuilding must be passed through for sustainable peace, the building of social capital, i.e. the establishment of informal, shared norms and values among the members of society, appears to be the essential part for effective and lasting conflict

transformation. According to Bourdieu (1983), social capital is defined as «*the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition.*» (Bourdieu 1983: 249). Similarly, Putnam (1995) described social capital as «*the collective value of all 'social networks' and the inclinations that arise from these networks to do things for each other*» (Putnam 1995: 664). In summary, social capital can be described as anything that simplifies both individual and group actions arising through networks of relationships, trust and social norms. The application of the idea of social capital to peacebuilding, the relational dimension of conflict management and the effective reconstruction through the development of generally valid norms and values seem to be fundamental (Warnecke/Franke 2010: 78-79).

According to Warnecke and Franke (2010), sustainable peacebuilding and the building of social capital can be conceptualized along three dimensions: (1) *Infrastructures*, which are material measures to alleviate human suffering – e.g., distribution of medical and food supplies, establishment of refugee camps and military security. Furthermore, infrastructures support the socio-economic well-being and sustainable development – e.g., through the construction of schools or hospitals. (2) *Relationships* are formal and informal networks between important actors and the concrete measures that affect these networks. Reconciliation and transitional justice as well as the reintegration of ex-combatants and the holding of elections fall into this particular category. (3) *Identity/Conflict attitudes* include the full range of attitudes, values, hopes, needs, and fears that influence the conflict and are influenced by the conflict as well as the subsequent behavior. Only if peacebuilding measures are perceived as functional for resolving the root causes and consequences of the conflict, and only if the involved conflicting parties support these measures, will peacebuilding lead to a sustainable positive peace (Warnecke/Franke 2010: 79-81).

Already at this point, one can realize that peacebuilding is a complex and multidimensional process involving many different actors: external or exogenous actors versus local or endogenous actors; state actors versus non-state actors; decision-makers versus civil society; civilians and the military; political leaders and economic agents. All these actors are involved in the peacebuilding process to different degrees. However, the population affected by the war remains the main actor in peacebuilding (Galtung 2001, Chetail 2009).

According to the *United Nation Peacebuilding Support Office* (2010), peacebuilding priorities differ in all post-conflict processes and also vary over time. The mutual key factors and the

most urgent objective affecting the peacebuilding processes are the establishment of security, the building of trust among the people and gaining confidence in the political process. Rebuilding a society from a divided society is not and will never be a simple task. Physical and psychological violence leaves behind not only physical destruction but also a broken society characterized by mistrust, fear and difficulties in imagining to work together towards a mutual future (United Nation Peacebuilding Support Office 2010: 5-16).

With the understanding of peacebuilding as a process towards sustainable peace, emphasizing the long-term idea of a peaceful change and knowing that the development of social capital, especially trust and relationship among people, are indispensable in order to achieve a peaceful society, the following section will focus on the *bottom-up* peacebuilding strategy.

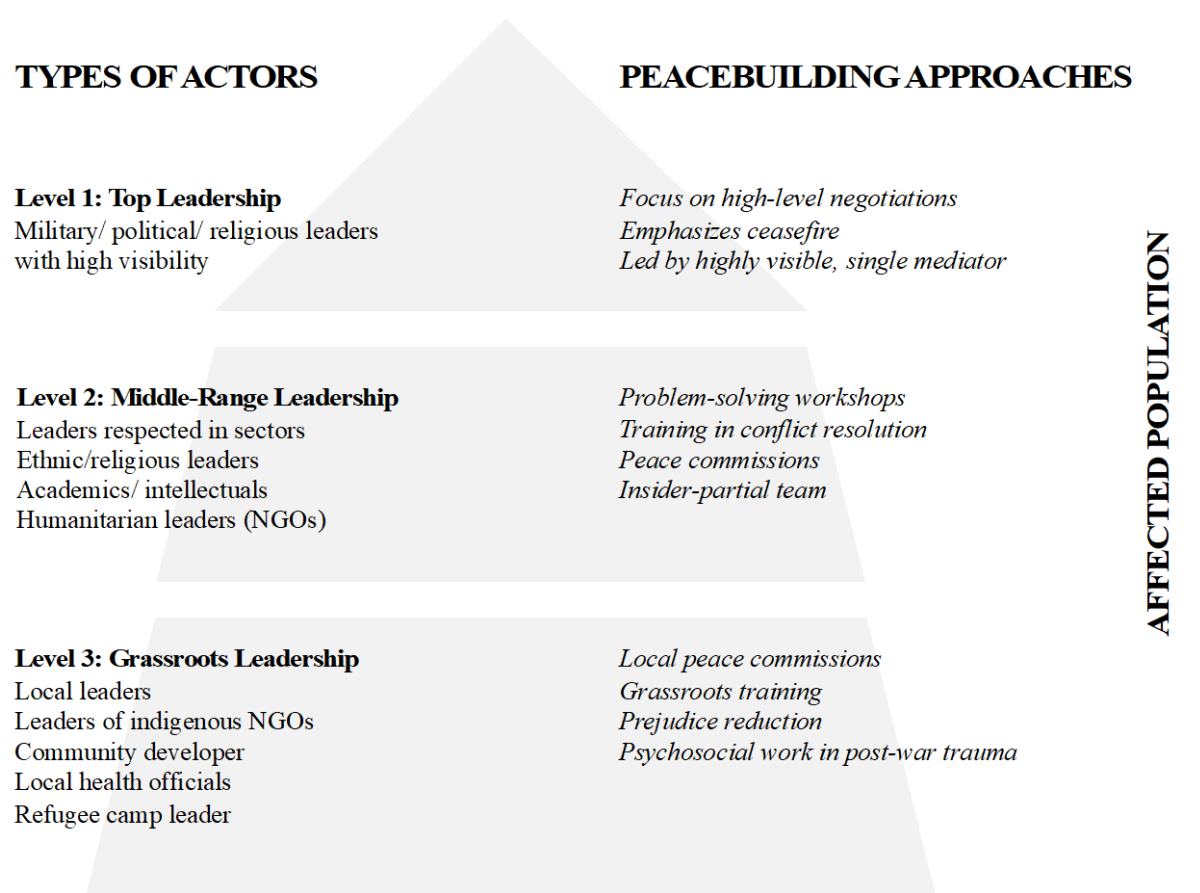
6.2 BOTTOM-UP PEACEBUILDING

In deeply divided societies, there are two main strategies for initiating a peacebuilding process within a population affected by war. Firstly, the «*top-down*» strategy known as macro-level peacebuilding, which is initially understood as a post-conflict reconstruction by external actors. On the other hand, there is the «*bottom-up*» strategy, which is known for building peace at the community level – from below. The bottom-up strategy was introduced into debates on peacebuilding as an alternative to the authoritarian practices of top-down peacebuilding operations. Advocates of the community-based peacebuilding approach argued that in contrast to macro-level operations, peacebuilding from below supports the process of those affected directly by armed conflict. The strategy allows directly involved actors to develop their diagnosis of the problems they face more effectively, thereby transforming the structures and relations affected by violence. The bottom-up strategy, therefore, begins with the premise that those most affected by violence and its effects are in the best position to develop adequate solutions (McDonald 1997: 2, Campbell 2011: 39).

The bottom-up strategy is a comprehensive instrument in the field of conflict resolution and is also known as *indigenous empowerment*. The main idea of bottom-up peacebuilding processes is to reinforce local populations at both the lower and middle levels of society. The consolidation and development of adequate resources for the implementation of the peacebuilding process is, therefore, the responsibility of the population. Later on, the initiated peace process could be advanced to the elite levels on the top (Aliyev 2010: 325, Lederach 1997).

Figure 7 illustrates the peacebuilding process according to Lederach (1997). His pyramid positions NGOs and further civilian groups into the middle-range group, which is supposed to function as a link between the grassroots and the elite levels. The reason why bottom-up peacebuilding can be more efficient than top-down efforts can be explained by the fact that due to high public profile, the leaders of the top-level are locked in a certain position regarding the issues in the conflict. The position of strength vis-à-vis their opponents and their own electorates are in most cases present and must be maintained (Aliyev 2010: 325-330, Lederach 1997: 40-42).

Figure 7: Peacebuilding, according to Lederach (1997: 39)



Additionally, Lederach (1997) demonstrated with his peacebuilding pyramid how important it is to combine the top-down approach with the bottom-up approach with regard to the process of peacebuilding. Constructing a peace process in deeply divided societies requires consideration of the legitimacy and interdependency of the needs and resources of the grassroots, middle range, and top-level leadership. Nevertheless, a leading role in peacebuilding process is allocated to the grassroots level:

«(...) the local level is a microcosm of the bigger picture. The lines of identity often are drawn right through local communities, splitting them into hostile groups. Unlike many actors at the higher level of the pyramid, however, grassroots leaders witness firsthand the deep-rooted hatred and animosity on a daily basis.» (Lederach 1997: 43)

The grassroots actors seem to be forced to promote peace because of desperation and frustration over the conflict. Furthermore, Lederach (1997) implies that most of the social issues, such as human rights abuses and inter-ethnic divisions, often begin at the grassroots level. Therefore, bottom-up actions are more likely to meet the real needs and remove the grievances of the affected population (Aliyev 2010: 325-330, Campbell 2011: 39-42, Lederach 1997: 40-52).

Generally spoken, bottom-up approaches aim to transform individual prejudices and highlight the relationships amongst ordinary people that are needed for the further construction of sustainable positive peace. As a result, the individual becomes the exclusive agent of peace; a peace that is comparable with the development of a shared culture achieved through a gradual social diffusion. The bottom-up strategy is guided by non-violent conflict resolutions that seek to promote interpersonal relationships and individual behaviors vis-à-vis former antagonists. One form is organized encounters between middle-range leaders and ordinary people at the grassroots-level. Another form focuses more on conflict resolution training, by teaching the necessary skills regarding the prevention of political violence. Bottom-up peacebuilding practices are dialogue-based driven and based on the idea that the individuals are the motor of social change and thus, as mentioned above, the only true agent of peace. Overall, the intention of bottom-up peacebuilding practices intends to revitalize daily inter-group relations among ethnic, religious or regional groups. Interpersonal relations are considered independent of social identities and are therefore preferred to political modes of conflict regulation. Private relationships are seen as sincere, which is why they can create sustainable peace (Lefranc 2011: 2-10).

In the following chapter, reconciliation as a key factor of the bottom-up peacebuilding strategy will be discussed in more detail.

6.3 RECONCILIATION

The meanings of ‘to reconcile’ are numerous. The following explanations can all be found in various contexts of peacebuilding.

- *To become friendly* with someone after separation or to reestablish friendship among two or more people.
- *To settle* a conflict.
- *To make* oneself or somebody else *no longer opposed* to something.
- To cause *to acquiesce* in something unpleasant.
- To make two conflicting things *compatible* or *consistent* with each other.

All these linguistic definitions seem to refer to relationships. However, if the focus is on social or political reconciliation, the word '*to reconcile*' becomes a term of political value with a new significance and additional meanings (Pankhurst 1999: 240).

6.3.1 DEFINITION OF RECONCILIATION

Hamber and Kelly (2004) see reconciliation as a starting point for the principle that relationships require an awareness of peacebuilding. With this understanding, reconciliation can be seen as a process in which confrontational, broken, opposing relationships are addressed through the use of different types of activities. Furthermore, the process is understood as a voluntary act that cannot be imposed. In general, the process of reconciliation includes five interconnected strands:

(1) *Shared vision*. The first strand refers to the development of a shared vision of a fair and independent society. Such a development requires the involvement of the whole society at all levels. The wording of a common vision of a just and diverse open society is a relevant part of reconciliation, even if the actors involved have different political beliefs and opinions.

(2) *Acknowledgment*. The second strand contains the acknowledgment and settlement of the past. For the reconciliation process, this means that hurt, losses, truths, and suffering must be heard and acknowledged and mechanisms for justice, healing and reparation must be provided.

(3) *Relationship building*. The third strand includes the building of positive relationships following a violent conflict. The main objective is to address the issues of trust, prejudice and intolerance and transform them into an environment in which both differences and commonalities are accepted.

(4) *Cultural and attitudinal change*. The fourth strand represents a significant cultural and attitudinal change based on how people relate to each other and how their attitudes towards one

another unfolds. Therefore, a culture of respect and an open space in which people can be heard and listen to should be available, whereas society must get rid of the culture of fear, mistrust, suspicion and violence. Only in a context where members of a divided society become active participants do they start to feel a sense of constructive interaction and belonging.

(5) *Social, economic and political change*. Finally, the fifth strand refers to a substantial social, economic and political change (Hamber/Kelly 2004: 3-4).

Based on the linguistic meanings and the five related strands that describe reconciliation, it becomes obvious that it is difficult to define the concept of reconciliation. It makes it particularly difficult to describe reconciliation because it refers to both the end of a process and the means to achieve that end. In fact, there is no consensus in the current literature on the definition of reconciliation, on the processes of social change associated with reconciliation, or on the conditions necessary to achieve reconciliation. Nevertheless, Lederach (2001) defined reconciliation as «*dynamic, adaptive processes aimed at building and healing the torn fabric of interpersonal and community lives and relationships.*» (Lederach 2001: 842).

Reconciliation can, therefore, be described and understood as a process that allows a society to move from a divided past to a shared future. Furthermore, it is a tool with which former adversaries can find a way to live together side by side, without liking or forgiving each other completely, and without forgetting the past. Such peaceful coexistence between former adversaries is achieved by fostering the ability among the actors involved to cooperate. Reconciliation is therefore linked to the notion of *civic trust*, which includes the following two spheres:

- *Political reconciliation*: vertical trust between people and institutions
- *Social reconciliation*: horizontal trust where citizens trust the citizens

Social reconciliation aims to change values, beliefs and attitudes within a particular population. Furthermore, the aim is to redefine the relationship between former adversary groups and to re-humanize the post-conflict parties involved (Hazan 2009: 257-267). Social reconciliation is a part of the peace process that often takes place in the background of political discussion. In the long run, positive peace can only be achieved if the social dimension of reconciliation is part of a post-conflict peacebuilding process (Chetail 2009, Meyer 2007).

6.3.2 THE SOCIETAL PROCESS OF RECONCILIATION

Groups affected by conflict usually live in close proximity and have direct experience of violent trauma. This trauma is associated with hostile rivals and is often tied to a history of enmity and accumulated grievances over generations. Paradoxically, conflicting groups live as neighbors and are locked in cycles of violent interactions for many years (Lederach 1997: 23).

The challenge of a peaceful resolution between hostile groups exists on two levels. The first challenge concerns short-termed management of the conflict, which includes negotiation, mediation and arbitration. This is usually executed by the leading elite and supported by the general population. The second challenge takes place at a much deeper level and involves the process of reconciliation. As already mentioned, this process requires a change of societal behavior shared by the members of society and should end in a common repertoire based on a culture of peace. This required socio-psychological change is a key factor in overcoming the persistent conflict and the barriers that block the road towards sustainable peace. Of course, such change does not come overnight and depends on top-down decisions and bottom-up efforts to overcome the conflict. Several authors dealing with reconciliation and peacebuilding share a consensus regarding the involvement of a transformation of real peaceful relationships among members of society and the requirement for socio-psychological change on both sides of the divided society (Kelman 1999, Lederach 1997, Shonholtz 1998, Wilmer 1998). In this line of argumentation, changes in attitudes, emotions, beliefs, motivations and goals can, therefore, be seen as the essence of reconciliation (Bar-Tal 2009: 365).

The first condition for reconciliation affects the legitimization as well as the humanization of the opposing group during a recent conflict. The reciprocal recognition allows both parties to consider each other as legitimate partners in the subsequent peace process. Additionally, the involved conflicting parties have to consider the conflict as resolvable and to acknowledge that both sides have legitimate needs that must be satisfied in order to establish sustainable peace. Lederach (1997) places intra-societal reconciliation in the center of the discussion and focuses on four elements: truth, mercy, justice and peace (cf. Figure 8).

In the view of Bar-Tal (2009) reconciliation involves mutual recognition, acceptance, invested goals and interest in building peaceful relationships, positive attitudes and mutual trust, as well as a certain sensitivity and consideration of the interests and needs of the other party. In order to achieve a peaceful culture, the former enemies must build cooperative relations with each other and begin to manage their conflict constructively.

According to Bar-Tal (2009), the following goals must be achieved to strengthen new or renewed relationships.

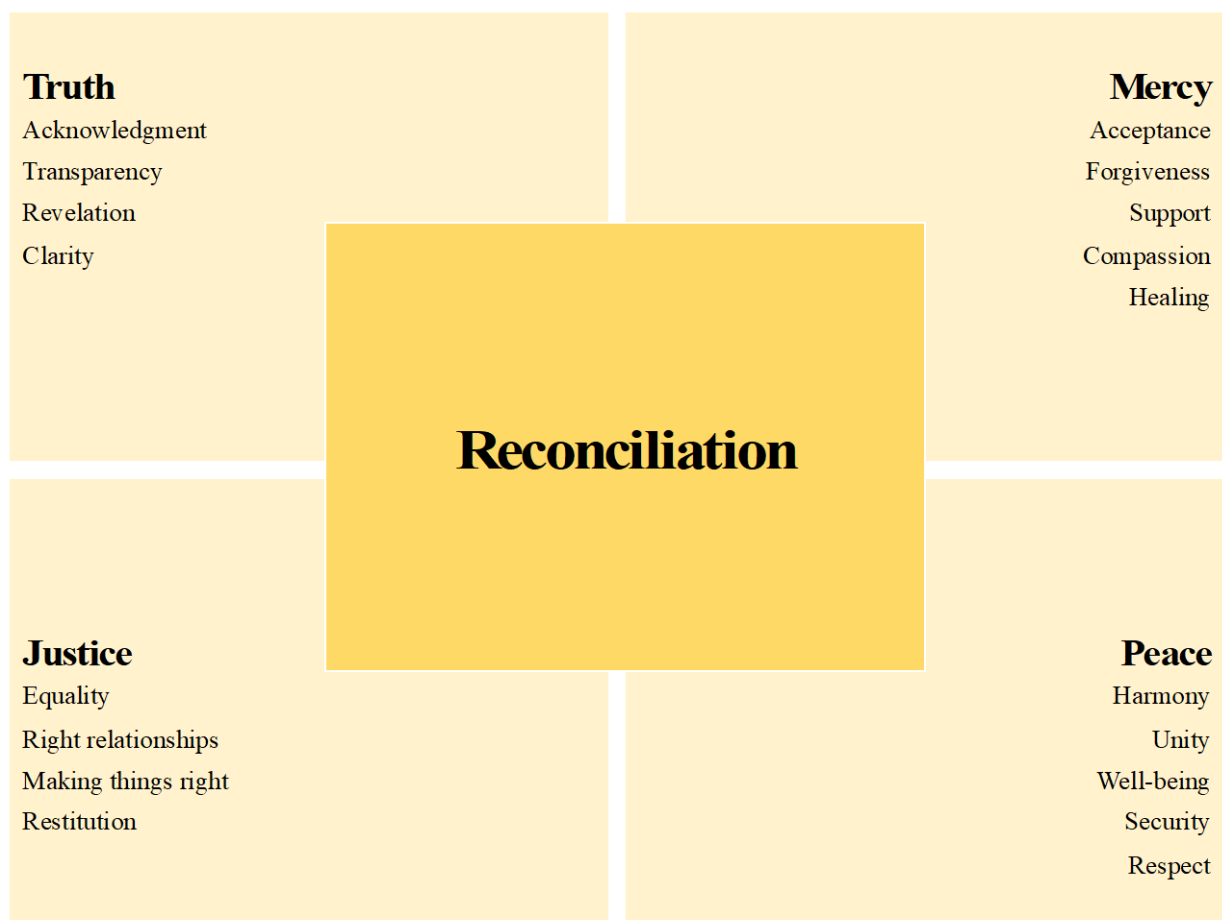
- *Mutual knowledge.* Former enemies should gain knowledge of each other. Knowledge should cover domains such as history, culture, religion, society, politics and geography.
- *Mutual acceptance.* It is required that former rivals accept each other both personally and at the country level. Mutual acceptance is a condition for future peaceful relations and is based on inclusion, legitimation and humanization.
- *Mutual understanding.* However, knowledge and acceptance are not enough to build sustainable relationships. The development of empathy and sensitivity for each other's needs, traditions and values are required for a common understanding. In mutual understanding, the actors involved realize that their relationships are determined by mixed motives. Therefore, a conflict on both sides could cause losses, whereas with peace both sides could win.
- *Respect for differences and focusing on commonalities.* Peace culture is based on respect for pluralism and differences. Furthermore, it emphasizes the commonalities and defines common goals.
- *Development of cooperative relations.* These kinds of relationships are used within the structural and concrete side of peace culture. Cooperation may for, example, incorporate economic, political, cultural and military relations.
- *Valuing peace.* In the process of building relationships, it is essential that peace becomes an overarching value of society. All groups involved should consider peace as desirable, realistic, and achievable.
- *Mechanisms for maintaining peace.* To maintain peace, it is required to develop shared institutions, organizations and platforms of cooperative exchange. Additionally, new symbols, rituals and narratives are required to maintain, justify and even glorify peace (Bar-Tal 2009: 366-371).

The idea that building relationships and creating shared platforms of encounter stimulate the peacebuilding process can be explained by the contact hypothesis presented by social psychologist Allport (1954). The hypothesis claims that intergroup contact can have a positive effect in reducing intergroup stereotypes and common prejudices. There are some primary conditions for effective intergroup contact to be fulfilled: (1) equal status of the involved

groups, (2) ongoing personal interactions, (3) cooperation towards a mutual goal, and (4) institutional support (Maoz 2011: 116-117).

Naturally, reconciliation requires efforts by both sides of the conflict. It is impossible to achieve a culture of peace if only one side participates, whereas the other side continuously nourishes a culture of conflict. Although it is not required to have a complete equalization in any phase of the process of reconciliation, there must be somehow a level of synchronization. Both sides must reinforce the peacebuilding process. For reconciliation to be effective, it is not only important that both sides of the conflict are involved, it is also important to proceed with top-down and bottom-up peacebuilding efforts simultaneously (Bar-Tal 2009: 372-373).

Figure 8: The place called reconciliation according to Lederach (1997: 30)



The remaining fundamental question is how to create driving forces for reconciliation with sustainable manifestation in divided societies. According to Lederach (1997), personal relationships are the basis of the conflict itself and at the same time its long-term-solution. Reconciliation must, therefore, provide a social place where people can meet and discuss concerns about the past and the future. In other words, reconciliation represents a social

platform and encounter where the present can be reframed by acknowledging the past and envisioning the future (Lederach 1997: 25-29).

This intra-societal focus of reconciliation (Figure 8) includes four elements: (1) *truth*, that asks for a complete disclosure of past events, (2) *mercy*, that asks for forgiveness, acceptance, compassion and healing in building new or reconstructing damaged relations, (3) *justice*, that asks for adjustment, restoration, compensation and social restructuring, and (4) *peace*, that highlights a mutual future of cooperation, coordination, respect, security and well-being for all groups involved (Lederach 1997: 25-29, Bar-Tal 2009: 366).

In summary, reconciliation can be understood both as a focus and as a locus. Understood as a perspective, it is based on and oriented towards relational aspects of conflicts. Therefore, reconciliation must be proactive in order to create a platform where people can focus on building relationships (Lederach 1997: 30). People who have been involved in violent conflicts and have dehumanized each other through cruel acts of violence will need to rehumanize their vision of each other. Any process of reconciliation, therefore, needs a rehumanizing process that includes increasing flexibility in their understanding of identity. Especially in ethnic conflicts, identity issues become so central to the conflict that they must be addressed during the process of reconciliation. The transformation of separate identities into a shared identity is a key element for successful peacebuilding. People who share identities, such as being a woman, a mother, a wife, a sister or a widow, and emphasize their similarities rather than differences, are able to form crosscutting groups, that will break down the psychological walls that maintain conflict (Schirch 2001: 152-155).

6.4 CONCLUSIONS: THE LONG ROAD TO RECONCILIATION

The principle of peacebuilding is about the process of achieving peace. The key factors for peacebuilding are the creation of security and the building of trust among the conflict parties. But as this chapter has shown, peacebuilding is not as simple as that and is rather a complex topic area in which the term as such is already widely used and defined in various ways.

With regard to this dissertation's attempt to build a theory – «*sport as bridge-building activity and a tool to promote peace*» – the theory of peacebuilding must be reduced to its essential aspects. The following points are fundamental and will contribute to the theory building:

- Peacebuilding as an overarching theory includes three different approaches to conflict resolution. Peacekeeping, which aims to end immediate violent and hostile actions,

peacemaking, which seeks to resolve the conflict peacefully by using instruments such as mediation and negotiation, and peacebuilding, which tends to establish sustainable peace through long-term objectives of peaceful social change and by bringing the source of conflict into focus. This dissertation focuses in particular on the subcategory «*peacebuilding*».

- The three schools of thoughts within the mainstream debate on peacebuilding are: (1) conflict management, (2) conflict resolution, and (3) conflict transformation. As the third approach focuses on the transformation of deeply rooted violent conflicts into a peaceful society as well as on the rebuilding of destroyed relationships, further discussion will be based on this transformative approach.
- With regard to the time horizon, it can be distinguished between three phases: (1) short-term stabilization, (2) transition phase, and (3) consolidation phase. Since one of the main objectives of this project is the analysis of positive peace, the consolidation phase will be the horizon of the peacebuilding process.
- Long-term peacebuilding consists of the components reconstruction, reconciliation, and resolution.
- There are two strategies for initiating a peacebuilding process in a population affected by war. On the one hand the top-down strategy and on the other the bottom-up strategy.
- The community-based bottom-up strategy seeks to promote interpersonal relations. Therefore, reconciliation is regarded as a key factor of peacebuilding as seen below.
- Reconciliation, as the focus phase of peacebuilding within this dissertation, includes several components. The following aspects are essential for the definition of reconciliation within this project: (1) Reconciliation is a process that allows a society to move from a divided past to a shared future. (2) Reconciliation aims to develop a shared vision of a fair and independent society. (3) Therefore, the acknowledgment and settlement of the past are mandatory. (4) Building positive relationships after violent conflict is crucial. And last but not least, (5) the main goal is to create an environment in which both differences and commonalities are accepted by addressing the issues of trust, prejudice and intolerance.
- In order to transform real peaceful relationships between former enemies, socio-psychological changes are required on both sides of society. The process through reconciliation into a culture of peace is therefore characterized by the construction of:

(1) mutual knowledge, (2) mutual acceptance, (3) mutual understanding, (4) mutual respect for differences with special regard on commonalities, (5) cooperative relations, (6) valuing peace, and (7) mechanisms to maintain peace.

- Successful reconciliation is obliged to create a social sphere where people can encounter and the present can be reframed through contact, discussion, rehumanization, relationship building and of crosscutting identity building.

7 SPORT

The term «*sport*» is on everyone's lips. However, if you think about formulating a definition of sport – both the meaning and the form of exercise – one may realize that sport is a complex field of social activity. On the occasion of his withdrawal as a president of the IOC in 1925, Pierre de Coubertin defined sport as «*a physical discipline sustained by an enthusiastic addiction to unnecessary effort*» (Miller 2003: 82), even though the educational- and health-enhancing impact of sport was, in principle, undisputed.

Nowadays, in almost all nations, sport has a special status in society and is considered a phenomenon that is consumed on a daily basis. Sport can be organized in different spheres. For some it symbolizes a leisure activity, for others, it is a service and for third parties sport can be even a profession (Cronin/Mayall 1998: 5, Pachmann 2007: 3). Either way, the performance factor is often linked to the concept of sport and therefore seems to play an important role. Consequently, sport is often associated with promoting performance and rewarding rendered achievements.

The first overview of the concept of sport showed the need for an in-depth analysis and discussion of the definition and the different spheres of existing sports. Since the research question targets the promotion of peace in post-conflict divided societies through sport, the following chapter will firstly discuss the basic understanding of sport (cf. *chapter 7.1*). Furthermore, the evolution of modern sport (cf. *chapter 7.2*), sport in modern society (cf. *chapter 7.3*), the meaning of sport for society (cf. *chapter 7.4*), and the debate whether sport is for everyone (cf. *chapter 7.5*) will be discussed. Before drawing the final conclusions for the new theoretical framework, the Olympic movement will be critically examined (cf. *chapter 7.6*).

7.1 WHAT IS MEANT BY SPORT?

Although everyone has a certain understanding concerning the concept of sport, there are three main reasons why sport is particularly challenging to define. First, different groups of people often associate the concept of sport with something completely different. Therefore, somebody who takes the dog for a walk can classify his or her action as highly sporty, for others it is their visit to a gym or yoga class while some may only want to acknowledge a rule-based competitive sport as a real sport. In a nutshell, the ordinary understanding regarding the idea of sport has become an ambiguous concept. Secondly, sport is a very dynamic concept and changes over time. Many types of current sports that did not exist thirty years ago are nowadays classified as sporting activities. Finally, there are large differences between countries as to what sport actually means, as the country-specific culture influences both the definition of sport and the concept regarding sporting commitment (Heinemann 2007: 53).

At the beginning of the 20th century, the concept of sport developed into a demotic and globally used concept. Finding a precise definition or even a notional distinction that separates sport from other leisure activities is rather a difficult task as it varies between sources. Tiedermann (2011) describes sport as follows:

«Sport is a cultural field of activity in which people voluntarily enter into a real or even imagined relationship with other people, with a deliberate intention to acquire skills and competencies, particularly in the field of the art of movement, and to measure oneself with other people according to self-imposed or acquired rules, without wanting to harm oneself.»
(Tiedermann 2011: 1 | *Quote translated from German*)

This definition refers to the physical activity of persons who are engaged in sport. Furthermore, it highlights the ability of the individual to measure his or her physical activity under fair conditions and even compare it with other people's achievement. Additionally, sporting activities represent and produce a highly artificial and fictitious reality. From this point of view, sport is part of a cultural «*non-requirement*» and can be classified as an esthetic presentation (Güldenpfennig 1996: 178-180).

For Franke (1978), sport symbolizes a social construction. Movement sequences can therefore only be classified as sporting activities, if the agents involved allocate specific meanings such as relaxation, health, fairness, performance orientation, competitive orientation to the action or assign specific features such as effort, sweat and routine. Within this type of construction, a semantic field arises in which sport can be interpreted and in which various structures of action

can be identified as sport. Following these approaches, four main features can be distinguished which describe sport:

- *Physical performance* contains a specific goal-oriented form of dealing the body, accessing the body as well as the relating thereto required abilities and knowledge such as power, speed, endurance, and motor skills.
- *Competition* includes a comparison of performance. At the beginning of a competition, all participants are equal, whereas in the end the participants are defined as unequal according to their achieved result.
- *Sport-specific sets of rules* represent a specifically organized social form of how to deal with the body.
- *Unproductiveness* in this context is related to the idea that sport does not aim to produce a work or a product (Franke 1978: 140, Heinemann 2007: 56).

Sport can be actively conducted in different ways. Basically, it can be distinguished between *mass sport* and *competitive sport*, whereas further categories such as leisure, adventure, risk and extreme sport as well as trend sport have popped up these days. Mass sport is characterized by the fact that it is accessible to a large part of the population and serves the individual to develop their movement- and body-oriented personality. Furthermore, the active exercise of sport aims to achieve physical, mental and social health (Deutscher Olympischer Sportbund 2000: 2). The concept of competitive sport refers to a more intensive form of sporting activity. In competitive sport, the focus is much more based on daily training, which should lead to sporting success in competition (Honeck 2009: 1).

Expressions such as «*sport without performance is not a sport – performance is one of the constituting factors of sport*» (Güldenpfennig 1996: 174 | *Quote translated from German*) can be assigned to an integral component of current sport discourses. Experts agree, however, that a desired performance and success in competitive sport can only be achieved if a top sporting performance will be displayed. Dietrich et al. (2001) define such a sporting performance as following:

«*Sporting performance is the result of a sporting action, that finds its participation in particular in competition sport as a measured value, which is assigned to the action of movement according to previously defined rules.*» (Dietrich et. al. 2001: 23 | *Quote translated from German*).

Besides the active component of sport, there is furthermore the passive form of sport, i.e. the passive consumption of sport. In this passive form, the sports consumer is either present as a spectator of sports competitions at the venue or can be directly informed via various media channels. In order to better understand this diffused concept of sport, the evolution of modern sport will be examined in detail in the following chapter.

7.2 THE EVOLUTION OF MODERN SPORT

According to current literature, the differentiation of sport as an independent functional system as well as the beginning of modern sport can be traced back to the middle of the 19th century. The foundation stone of this social background was, among other things, the numerical and social rise of the bourgeoisie at that time, which took place parallel to the de-feudalization and institutionalization of performance as a guiding principle. The 19th century can be seen as a historical period in which a formulated new order was established. Furthermore, it was possible at that time to switch from a primary stratification to a functional differentiation. After the differentiation of religion, politics and economy since 1500 as well as after the differentiation of education and science since the middle of the 17th century, societies were divided into different autonomous functional systems. At the beginning of the 19th century, the requirements of some of these new functional systems, as well as expectations regarding performance, formed the development and differentiation of sport as an independent subsystem. In Victorian England, sport was even propagated as a means of reducing health risks in cities (Müller 2009: 26-29).

In the course of the process towards an independent functional system, sporting activities developed into activities of performance comparison and later on into organized sporting competitions (Thiess 1999: 11-12). Therefore, sport began to orient itself both towards the principle of performance and towards the idea of maximum performance, which later became the core element of modern sport. In essence, through a mutual trial of strength between «*athletes*», sport could be expanded to various schools and universities. This diffusion and the desire of students to compete against each other resulted in a transregional unification and codification of rules within various types of sport. In order to make performances of participating athletes comparable and to attribute them at all, a uniform set of rules was required. The first sports that were held within such uniformly regulated competitions between the universities of Cambridge and Oxford were *cricket* (1827), *rowing* (1829), *tennis* (1859), *athletics* (1864), *football* (1874), *hockey* (1890) and finally *boxing* (1897) (Müller 2009: 30-32,

Mangan 2000: 125). Universities and schools thus provided the starting point regarding the diffusion of sport, or more specifically they paved the way to the comparison of physical performances across local and national borders. The idea behind this development of sport – as a competitive sport – was first and foremost to focus on the increasing principle of performance and its idea of maximum performance. The idea concerning maximum performance found its expression in the institutionalization of trans-local sporting horizons of comparison. Moreover, it was about the effective diffusion of different types of sport (Müller 2009: 32).

Until the middle of the 19th century, sporting events were usually locally organized competitions. Thus, it was possible to take any spatial, temporal and socially limited comparison of performance as a starting point. From 1850, however, the horizon of comparison began to delocalize in the USA and England. Werron (2008) mentions the harmonization of the regulatory system, the institutionalization of a continuous competition activity with a potentially unlimited number of participants and the development of public memory as prerequisites for this development. Furthermore, the parallel development and diffusion of sports federations had a significant influence on the introduction of continuous competition activities. The institutionalization of specific functional sports organizations and the resulting differentiation of the functional role led to the development of new expectations in the long term. Thus, sport was able to distinguish itself from other social context meanings and established itself as an independent functional system. Accordingly, national and international sports associations evolved in the second half of the 19th century for the first time (Müller 2009: 32).

Szymanski (2008) advocates that modern sport has arisen from associativity and the related concept of the public sphere. In this context, associativity can be understood as the individual's tendency to create organizations and social networks outside the family structure. Modern sport can, therefore, be seen as a mirror of modern forms of associativity. According to Szymanski (2008), the essential basic organizational unit of modern sport was the club. These clubs represented a voluntary association of individuals which agreed to comply with a form of private law that is autonomous within the state. The hierarchical systems of clubs and federations did not exist ahead of the emergence of modern sports. The way in which sport should be practiced was largely dictated by the governing rules of associative activities. Consequently, different practices in different countries can be explained by these diverse rules. In general, there have been two strains of development in Europe. The Anglo-Saxon current, which was independent of the state, and the current prevailing in the rest of Europe, which was

based on cooperation with the state and, in particular, its demand for military preparedness (Szymanski 2008: 1-23). Over time, English sport merged with the two other main systems of physical activity, namely the German and the Swedish gymnastics and therefore to an expansion of understanding concerning the concept of «*modern sport*» (Weiss/Norden 2013: 31).

Parallel to the development of a global sporting horizon of comparison and certainly also as a result of this development, many types of sports spread all over the world. Advancing technology and the development of new and faster means of transport for humans and animals, as well as the expansion of infrastructures, can be regarded as prerequisites for the global diffusion of sport. The increase in the numbers of means of transport made it even possible for both athletes and sports spectators to reach venues far off, which led to a diffusion of sport as well as to the internationalization of sports competitions (Müller 2009: 32-33).

The increased autonomy of sport as a functional system led to further differentiation in the field of mass sport and competitive sport and the associated professionalization of sport in general. In the early days of modern sport, both athletes with black skin color and athletes from lower social classes were excluded from certain types of sport and sports events as such. Meanwhile, such exclusion criteria have largely disappeared. The national coding of sports competitions, as well as the function of nationality as a criterion of formal organizations, gave a significant role to the national affiliation of individual athletes (Müller 2009: 32-49).

7.3 SPORT IN MODERN SOCIETY

In most societies, sport has played and continues to play an important role. With the rise of generally accepted codified games, it has even reached global importance. Events such as the *Olympic Games* and the *Soccer World Cup* reach a wide audience. Certain other types of sport, such as basketball, have a major impact through the marketing of some athletes. In general, sport seems to occupy an important place in the daily life. Besides dedicated sports channels on television, most nations have their own sports press in order to create national heroes and to celebrate any national victory. In modern societies, sport has emerged into an industry with global impact. Furthermore, sport has developed a binding force across borders and between generations. However, at the same time sport is also a source of local and community pride and one of the determining features of nationality (Cronin/Mayall 1998: 4-5, 107).

7.3.1 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SPORT AND SOCIETY

As already pointed out, sport has developed into an independent social function system and has become an essential social field. Nonetheless, differentiation and institutional autonomy of sport did not mean self-sufficiency, independence and isolation from other social spheres. Rather, a variety of exchange relationships have developed between sport and other areas, e.g. politics, economics, education systems, family and science. The relationship between sport and other social spheres can be determined by five different types of social relationships:

- *Transfer relationships*, which are characterized by the fact that material benefits in the form of money, time, or human capital are flowing.
- *Regulatory relations*, which exist when the constitution, laws or existing norms regulate and shape sport, or vice versa, if sport can achieve that e.g. safety regulations for sports equipment become binding in general and not only for organized sports.
- *Cooperative relations*, which are characterized by the fact that different organizations pursue and enforce common interests.
- *Ideological-value-oriented relationships*, that exist when sport receives ideological justifications and foundations of ethical fundamental values, for example from the state or vice versa as well as the values of sport (fairness, loyalty solidarity, trust) becoming applicable and valid in other areas of life.
- *Functional relations*, which exist when one sphere takes over functions for another (Heinemann 2007: 313-315).

There is a disagreement in current literature about which category of society we live in. There is a wide range of definitions that describe today's societies as «*late industrial society*», «*performance-oriented society*» or «*affluent society*», to mention but a few. Each of these terms describes certain aspects of the perspective and reconstruction of societal reality. In each reconstruction, sport appears again in a different perspective and therefore has a different influence on the various types of social relationships and exchanges between sport and other areas of society in general. The late industrial society, for example, is characterized by the factor of time and in particular by its sovereignty over time (*transfer relationships*). Since time sovereignty depends on factors such as partners, providers, opening hours of public facilities and private businesses, time is either to a greater or lesser extent restricted. If time sovereignty is restricted, the tendency towards an individualized consumption of leisure sport increases.

This is why people exercise those types of sport that do not require too much time to coordinate with others. The affluent society, to mention another example, is to be seen as a shaping factor for the general conditions of the development of sport. Both time sovereignty and the level of prosperity, therefore, have an influence on sport in modern society (Heinemann 2007: 317-327).

7.3.2 PRESENCE OF SPORTS

Nowadays, sport is considered as an omnipresent social field of modern society.

«Most Americans know more about sport and sports than they do about politics, science, religion or their own constitution. They discuss sports with friends, relatives, and strangers with more passion and conviction than they do any other subject. 'Who won the game?' breaks more silences than any other imaginable query.» (Dyreson 1998: 1)

Since sport is constantly present in the media and the media is always live and able to report exclusively, sport is an integral part of the public discourse. The media provides individual viewers with sport that is broadcasted across an entire country and across national borders. In this way, citizens of different nations share individual sporting activities and events that turn out to be extremely popular. For this reason, the media can be seen as a decisive factor in understanding the historical and contemporary impact of sport on society. There are quite different approaches that explain how sport is able to infiltrate a society through the media. From elementary reports in the print media to times when sports events were only accompanied by live radio broadcasts, to today's conventional form of satellite television. Thus, media and sport are in a reciprocal relationship, which is a profitable situation for both parties. The individuals, or the entire society, are captured by the information flow and are informed about the current sports activities and events (Cronin 1999: 48-50).

Sporting events might be ephemeral, temporary and partially even boring. However, it is a fact that sport in all its manifestations has been part of life for centuries. According to Tatz (1982), sport is available to us everywhere and, from his point of view, sport plays a major role in most societies.

«We spend a great deal of time, energy, emotion and money on sports.» (Tatz 1982: 4)

7.3.3 UNIVERSALITY AND CULTURAL INFLUENCE

Originally, sport was understood as the sport rooted in England, which was characterized by the principles of formal equality of opportunity, performance, and competition. In this sense,

sport corresponded to the emerging industrial society. Promoted by the worldwide presence of the British Empire and the modern Olympic Games, English sport spread internationally. Today, sport is a global phenomenon. For example, soccer is played according to the same rules almost everywhere in the world. However, the style in which soccer is played in different societies and the meaning and motives associated with the game vary. Sport is therefore as universal as it is particular, and its world can be interpreted as an interweaving of local and global developments. On the one hand, globalization is advancing and the pressure caused by globalization is increasing. On the other hand, specific sports cultures are formed or maintained in different societies. Cultural characteristics of the respective societies therefore affect sport and sport in turn has an impact on society. By putting forward certain lifestyles, sport influences society, of which it is an integral part. As such, sport can represent general structures, processes and values of a society (Weiss/Norden 2013: 31-32).

There are numerous reasons why sport can be described as a global phenomenon with a universalistic character. Firstly, the same sports all over the world are always exercised according to the same rules. Therefore, the rule books in sport created an effective global legal framework that enabled the worldwide spread of various sports – undoubtedly supported by the imperialist influence of Great Britain and later the USA. Secondly, in sport, international competitions were held at an early stage. Sport itself was the starting point for many cultural encounters, mutual perceptions and orientations and thus served as a crystallization point for the integration and mutual adoption of cultural patterns. Furthermore, national sports organizations have entrusted their international associations with the task of promoting cooperation and exchange between the various countries and facilitating this cooperation through binding rules. In addition, the unrestricted worldwide broadcasting of sporting events in the mass media, the unlimited possibilities to travel and to participate in all sporting events and the ability to exercise all types of sport on one's own, can create a transnational knowledge and understanding of sport. It is also to be noted that as the labor market for professional athletes has become globalized, a worldwide migration of top athletes into a global sports arena is evident. The result for top teams is a colorful mixture of players from a great number of races and nations. Finally, the transnational production and global distribution of standardized sporting articles have led to a global unification of the image of sport. Sport has thus developed into a universal cultural pattern that always involves national and regional sports cultures as well as new emerging sports (Heinemann 2007: 306).

Nevertheless, it is not possible to assume without reservation that sport has a unified, self-contained, universal image. Rather, each country has developed and cultivated its own sports culture, in which elements of modern sport are mixed with the cultural, institutional and political characteristics of the country. In the longer term, these cultural characteristics will also be preserved (Heinemann 2007: 313). The value and standards system in the USA, to name but one example, is characterized by a high degree of competition and profit orientation.

«Winning is not everything. It is the only thing» – Vince Lombardi. (Overman 1999: 79)

The USA wants winners, whether at school, business, politics or sports. The principle of social Darwinism – *«the survival of the fittest»* – manifests itself in both society and sport in the USA. Competitive orientation and the desire to win are by no means natural phenomena, but cultural ones. There are societies in which the element of competition does not occur, whereas cooperation and group morality form the main focus (Weiss/Norden 2013: 32-38).

The influence of society on the development of sport can also be well illustrated with Allardt's (1976) hypothesis which states that there is a probability for great popularity of non-formalized, aggressive betting games that require physical strength and are played as team games, in societies with a low division of labor, strong social and political constraints, and hard obedience training. However, when technique and skill are the focus of a team sport, it is referred to as a system with diminished obedience training and weak political and social constraints (Allardt 1976: 85, Weiss/Norden 2013: 43).

In general, it can be noticed that on the basis of the three root concepts of sport – the English, German and Swedish concepts – various societies have shaped their own national profile of sport. Despite globalization, all national sports cultures characterize the global sports scene. With the development of national based sports cultures, national-identities have become increasingly important and have been an integral element of nation-building. Within this process, sport served to promote group identity, especially within the newly established middle-class (Heinemann 2007: 310).

7.4 THE MEANING OF SPORT FOR SOCIETY

People in modern societies are physically active in different social spheres. Some exercise through informal play with friends for fun (e.g. in team competition) and others are involved in sport through coaching or as parents of children who practice sports. Many people are fans of sport at all levels, including professional, amateur, and youth. Studies have shown that

participation in sport provides a wealth of benefits – physical, emotional, psychological, and social. Participation in sport can help to strengthen character, encourage emotional growth, and teach players and spectators the value of respect, teamwork, friendship and dedication. Individuals engage in sport for a variety of reasons. Because it is fun, because of the glory of pitting the acquired skills against well-matched opponents is exciting, because they value the relationships with teammates or coaches, or because they feel the personal accomplishment of pushing their physical and emotional limits, to mention a few specific examples (Seippel 2006: 51-52, U.S. Anti-Doping Agency: 2014).

7.4.1 SOCIAL PROCESSES IN SPORT

Social processes describe changes and movements within a given institutional order, for example, the adoption of social norms and values. The process of internalization of such values, norms and behavior patterns makes it possible to integrate into society or at least into a sub-area of society. The connections between sport and socialization are complex. The following areas are of fundamental importance in the context of social processes in sport:

(1) *Pre-socialization*. This describes the development of competences and basic qualifications, that must be fulfilled in order to achieve the requirements in sport. This phase is primarily influenced by socialization agents – parents and peer group. Family socialization and the associated values and norms are of great importance for sports-related pre-socialization.

(2) *Socialization*. Socialization in sport is primarily concerned with the importance regarding which impulses and reference persons stimulate the individual's commitment to sport. Recent studies (Pfetsch et al 1975: 138, Greendorfer 1992: 202) refer in particular to the influence of parents, siblings and peer group. Within the framework of family socialization, the individual will be prepared for sport. Sport commitment is, therefore, the result of a process based on the characterized potential for action in pre-socialization. Accordingly, socialization into sport causes only an expansion of the potential that has been determined in the basic structure.

(3) *Various socialization effects*. Various socialization effects can be attributed to sport. Despite limited empirical findings, sport is said to contain a certain degree of socialization potential. The rules to be followed, the confrontation with victory and defeat, the strengthening of one's own character and the team spirit can be described as positive effects of the socialization processes. In contrast to this, negative effects also occur, which manifest themselves in the form of frustration, overstrain, violation of rules and empathy. It is not to be expected offhand that

the effects of socialization in sport can easily be transferred to other areas of social life and, if so, always to be valued positively.

Social integration is another sub-area of social processes in sport. However, if sport should integrate, one must be integrated in sport. This is both the challenge to be overcome and the limiting factor for the integration capacity of sport. Social class, value orientation, lifestyle and body image continue to be the driving forces behind the sporting commitment of individual members of society. The factor of gender role is another central component of socialization in sport. Every culture has its own opinion in regard to gender roles in which newborns are socialized. The actual social position of genders is reproduced in sport. When someone does sport, it is usually done in accordance with the gender role, which is characterized by cultural values and systems of interpretation. Accordingly, there are a number of sports that are referred to as «*men's sports*» (wrestling, boxing, weightlifting, etc.) and again as «*women's sport*» (rhythmic gymnastics, figure skating, synchronized swimming, etc.). Although the social equality process of women has been pushed forward in recent decades, access to certain sports is still influenced by gender (Weiss/Norden: 2013: 52-62, Heinemann 2007: 183-212).

7.4.2 VALUES IN SPORT

Values and norms manifest themselves implicitly and explicitly in individual, structural and cultural fields of action. These values and norms are not static. Individuals and society as a whole construct values and norms and give them meanings based on their experience, emotions, power and privilege. Both explicit and implicit values and norms can be understood as guidelines for practice and the creation of policies. Social values and norms are also visible in sport. However, sport not only reflects and reinforces existing values and norms in society, but also challenges them (Knoppers et al. 2001: 17-18).

Competitive sport is currently seen as the core manifestation of modern sport. Intrinsic values and norms such as achievement, competition, performance and fair play are attributed to the core concept of modern sport and give it a unique character. As previously mentioned, sport is an important part of society and therefore constantly confronted and influenced by social values and norms (extrinsic to sport). Additionally, sport reflects as well societal values and norms, such as the striving of outstanding performances, and can be used as an instrument to accomplish certain extrinsic values and objectives, as e.g. health or social integration (Knoppers et al. 2001: 23-24).

Table 2 (*personal collection*) shows a selected number of values and norms associated with sport – both, negative and positive manifestations. A double character associated with sport can, therefore, be recognized quite quickly.

Table 2: Positive values and negative manifestations within the field of sport

POSITIVE VALUES	NEGATIVE MANIFESTATION
Teamwork	Individualist behavior
Tolerance / Respect	Ignorance / Discrimination
Fair play / Acceptance of binding rules	Fraud
Personal development	Athletic arms race
Kindness	Exploitation
Excellence / Hard work / Doing your best	Dominating opponents
Discipline	Playing through pain
Solidarity	Racism / Nationalism / Hooliganism
Friendship	Adversaries
Integrity	Corruption
Emotional control	Violence
Participation / Inclusiveness	Abuse of doping
Confidence	
Passion	

Besides the many positive values, there is as well a large number of negative values associated with sport. The assumptions concerning the positive values diffused by sport and its social benefits listed in Table 2 are guided by a functionalist perspective. In general, a distinction can be made between sport, that adds positive values to social life, and sport, that induces negative manifestations into a society. The functionalist approach tends to overestimate the positive values and contributions of sport and to underestimate the negative side of sport. However, a critical approach would also emphasize the negative manifestations that occur in the context of sport. The functionalist perspective often appeals to those who have had largely positive experiences with sport, as the emphasis on the benefits of sport is both hopeful and familiar (Wilson 2012: 19-29). Therefore, the following sections discuss the causes of positive and negative values in sport.

When analyzing the positive values listed above, three main groups of «*value-triggers*» can be distinguished. (1) The first category includes values that are triggered as a result of the structure and form of organization in modern sport. (2) The second category consists of values that are triggered by the condition of the core concept of modern sport – the component of performance.

(3) The third category can be allocated to a general group of values that are triggered by the active and/or passive consumption of the manifold possibilities of sport in today's societies.

The structure and form of organization shapes the globalized modern sport. As already mentioned in the previous sections, the rule-based component of sport with a global diffusion and understanding triggers positive values such as fair play and the acceptance of binding rules. Regulations which are valid for all people involved in a particular sport additionally trigger values such as tolerance and respect. As these rules apply to everyone, a certain equality is guaranteed within modern sport. Equality on the one hand and the acceptance of enforced rules on the other hand foster tolerance towards the rules as well as towards the involved people. Moreover, it creates an atmosphere of respect among people and between people and the institutionalized set of rules. Further values which are triggered by the category of structure and organization of modern sport are values such as teamwork, participation and inclusiveness.

The organization within sport distinguishes, for example, between individual and team sport and regulates the opportunities for participation. Team sport in general is known for fostering the spirit of teamwork. However, individual sports also create such kind of cooperation. There are a variety of individual sports that depend on a group to achieve the intended training results. Teamwork is therefore also a value that appears in individual exercised types of sport. Participation and inclusiveness also based on rules and specific factors given by the different types of sport. The platform of passive and active sport activities creates a multitude of participation opportunities and thus guarantees a certain kind of inclusiveness.

The second category consists of values that are triggered by the conditions of performance. Within this context, performance can be understood on the one hand as a prerequisite for winning (in a competition) and on the other hand as an individual motivation to promote one's performance. Personal development, hard work, discipline, doing the best, excellence and passion are values that can be brought together with the idea to achieve performance.

Besides the structuring factor and the idea of performance, sport can foster a lot of different values. From the active participation in sport and the platform of interpersonal interaction created by sport, values such as friendship, kindness, integrity as well as confidence and emotional control can be derived.

The same categorization can be made for the negative manifestation occurring in the field of sport. The first category – structure and organization – represents a breeding ground for

negatively afflicted values such as nationalism, racism, discrimination, dominating opponents and being adversaries. With the rise of modern sport and its global spread, sports associations and organizations have been organized mainly in national groups. When these national bodies emerged, it was inevitable that the individual national units would strive to challenge each other and to compare their forces with each other. In international competitions where national teams compete against each other, nationalism and nationality become a prominent subject. Nations strive to strengthen their international reputation through sporting success. Therefore, successes or defeats may have an impact on a nation. Sport is and has always been inseparable from the power of nationalism and the magic of national identity (Cronin 1999: 52). Laetsch (2008) also identified direct contact points between sports and nationalism – especially within soccer. The population of a certain country can easily identify itself with its national team and seek out confrontations with people of the opposing nation. Collective identities as nationalism may provoke further negative values such as racism and consequently induce a discriminatory element into the field of sport.

Furthermore, the structure and organization of modern sport creates a system of adversaries and competition in which it ultimately becomes visible that one group or individual dominates another group or individual. Tännsjö (2000) refers furthermore to the fascist ideology that might pop up in the field of sport, by focusing on the admiration for strength and the despise of weakness.

Individualism, athletic arms race, exploitation, playing through pain, abuse of doping, fraud and corruption are negative afflicted terms named in the context of performance – especially when it comes to competitive sport and the related competitions. Results often matter in sport, and by identifying winners, losers are defined as well, leading people to the conclusion that being second stands for being the first among the losers (Tännsjö 2000: 14, Tamburini 2000: 35). Individualistic behavior in the context of competition is negatively afflicted because it refers to the concept of egoism, ignorance and symbolizes a path where one would walk over dead bodies to achieve one's goal. The focus on performance and the pressure to achieve it may lead to fraud such as the abuse of doping. Competition, in general, can be interpreted as something negative with regard to the idea of producing adversaries, presenting losers and winners, and making the dominance and balance of power visible. The exploitation of one's own body or even the exploitation of other bodies, which leads to an athlete arm race, symbolizes a negative manifestation of sport.

The third category includes aggression and violence occurring in the field of sport and in particular in the passive consumption of sport. Hooliganism is probably the most famous version of violence within sport as uncontrolled emotions, which end up in violent behavior, often break out in competitive situations under pressure.

7.4.3 EMOTIONS AS MEANS OF EXPRESSION

In modern sport, emotions are attributed to a variety of meanings. Emotions of solidarity and belonging, friendships and also enmities, sympathy and antipathy, joy and fear, feelings of trust and distrust as well as envy are among the emotional experiences that can be made in sport. Emotions are socially shaped. The importance which we assign to individual emotions, as well as the reading and understanding of expressed emotions, is part of the socialization process. Heinemann (2007) attempts to classify emotions that occur in sport and to organize them in different groups. In particular, he distinguishes between activity-related feelings, thus feelings that arise during the execution of the action itself, and feelings of attachment that describe feelings of belonging, integration and identification. Emotions arise as part of a social relationship and can unfold differently. Depending on the perspective, a sportive action can cause different emotions.

In addition to individual emotions in sport, emotions are as well produced within groups. The sense of togetherness symbolizes a commonly developed prevailing mood. Emotions can also be expressed differently within various groups and depending on the perspective, emotions can therefore result in varied forms – positive and negative. The balancing act that has to be accomplished with regard to emotions in sport concerns learning in which situations emotions are to be shown or to be controlled. For team sport and for the individual type of sports, each case is defined differently. Where, for example, does combativeness cease and unauthorized aggressiveness begin? Or perhaps where does friendship cease and rivalry starts? Emotional feelings and emotional expressions change during the sporting interaction as a reaction to the other people's behavior and should be understood as a dynamic construct. It is important to note that emotions play a multifaceted role in sport and, together with the physical use of the body, constitute an important part of the social structure of sport (Heinemann 2007: 105-116).

7.5 SPORT FOR ALL?

In the following, we will examine the question of whether sport is for everyone or whether there are limiting factors for participation. Therefore, the following subchapters focus on the *«body»*

as a central component of sports (cf. *chapter 7.5.1*) and the *organization* of sports (cf. *chapter 7.5.2*) as an integrative force.

7.5.1 THE BODY AS A CENTRAL COMPONENT OF SPORT

Sport is a specifically organized and regulated form of dealing with the body and the changes thereof. In the social context, the body can contain something completely different and is subjected to various controls and patterns. This is also the case in the field of sport, where the respective sport has a different meaning within various social groups. These differences may include, whether the sport is possible at all, what is or is not acceptable in the sport, what effects it has on the body in regard to body control and body posture and which exposure of the body is acceptable. These questions of the body pertain to members of different societies along the lines of ethnicities, religion, gender, age and social status, and are defined by social norms and rules that make the body a social entity. In the world of sport, the regulated treatment of the body is the central subject – and thus the body becomes an important object in the sphere of sporting activities (Heinemann 2007: 85-87).

The relationship between the body and sport is of particular importance insofar as sport represents a social field that is largely determined by the movement of the body (Meuser 2004: 212). More specifically, sport consists of physicality and is directly related to the body and movement in general (Grupe/Krüger 1997: 183). This mutual relationship can be analyzed in two directions. Firstly, the question arises as to which body image and which understanding of the body are assumed in modern sport, which is known under the concept of *disembodiment*. Secondly, it is about the rediscovery of the body, where the glorious body is at the center of the ideal identification (Heinemann 2007: 88, Seiberth 2012: 102).

According to cultural historical research, disembodiment has taken place in the process of social development from archaic to highly cultural as well as modern society. On the one hand, disembodiment means that the identity and social rank of the individual, as well as the functioning of social systems, become independent of physical characteristics and physical appearance. Disembodiment, on the other hand, means that the expressive control of the body, i.e. the control of emotions such as grief, anger, laughter and crying, as well as the control of drive structures, is increasing. Physical competence and physical capacity were much more important in pre-industrial societies in regard to the acquisition of personal and social identity as well as for the functioning of social systems than in industrial societies. Physical strength,

skill and agility were necessary qualities not only in tournaments and in war, but also in virtues which were important for military and political positions (Heinemann, 2007: 89-91).

In modern societies, the body has become a stronger object in the sense of mastering the environment and as an instrument for improving performance and production. The development of modern sport is tied to conditions that relate to the body and that have developed only in modern society, namely that people interpret the body normatively in a certain form with its value in use, and that the people are informed about the possibilities and ways in which they can control their body. The instrumentalization of the body in (English) sports is the result of an idea of the body that states that social control and the predictability of the body are perfected by human consciousness. The athlete's body becomes a resource and thus the body is reduced to a capital that must always be more productive and efficient. The body and its characteristics – strength, abilities, endurance, movements, appearance, etc. – are the basis and the central subject of sport (Bette/Schimank 1995: 42, Hargreaves 1986: 12, Heinemann, 2007: 87-95).

Processes now occur against such disembodiment, which leads to a reduction in body control and pressure. There are movements emerging that have set themselves the goal of rediscovering the body, its sensations and needs. The rediscovery of the body is shown by the fact that the body is increasingly idealized. This aspect is only indirectly connected with high-level sport and much more with other models of sport, in which the pursuit and responsibility of each individual for his or her own health, fitness and well-shaped body are the focus. This creates the image of a glorious body and becomes the identification ideal to be emulated. As already explained, the relationship between body and sport has developed in contradictory directions – initially towards a disembodiment which resulted in a total instrumentalization of the body, then towards an idealized emphasis on the physical that reflects a picture of the glorious body. It was in this stress ratio that sport was organized. The kind of social influence of the body thus determines significantly the access to sport and the way in which it is exercised (Heinemann 2007: 95-104).

Social interaction with other people is primarily bound to physicality. Finally, the sportsman or sportswoman gains membership into the social field of sport by using his/her body in a specific way (Meuser 2004: 199). Therefore, sport can be characterized as a physical- and human-orientated social area with an explicit physical reference. It is thus possible to establish a special structural position of the body in sport.

However, the importance of the body can have different effects on access to sport and on the way in which sport is practiced. On the one hand, it can be argued that personal encounters and the immediacy of physical experience in sport facilitate familiarization and rapprochement. In particular, reference is made to the uniform language and the universally applicable rules and norms in sport (Deutscher Sportbund 2003: 8). In contrast, it can be argued that the language of sport can also be a source of misunderstandings. The body of «*the other one*» in sports is frequently the starting point to experience differences, processes of differentiation and labeling. Racism, violence and ethnic boundaries often appear in these examples. The relationship in which individuals interact in the framework of sporting interactions is an immediate and unavoidably physical one. Via the body, the characteristic external feature occurs in the interaction with the other one. Bröskamp (1994) describes the central difficulty of intercultural sports by demonstrating that the physical otherness of the respective other person/group is implicitly experienced in the practice of sport. The body can thus be the subject of an experience of foreignness. Experiences of difference, incompatibility, and foreignness are likely in sport if physical appearance or physical practices of the other one is experienced as incompatible with one's own physicality or the collective idea of physicality. The larger the ethnic-cultural differences, the greater the distance between physical and movement practices will be, and the resulting experiences of foreignness will be more unavoidable.

The principle of equality, which is so important for the self-understanding of modern sport, cannot prevent the other one from being experienced as different or deviant. Gebauer (1986) recognized already at an early stage that the existence of a social equality of all persons who arrive to exercise sport together cannot be assumed. The physical aspect, feature and characteristics in sport can lead to a symbolic borderline and, through their identifiability, they can give rise to stereotyping or even racial symbolism. Through such categorical assessments, the body can be decoded as a symbol of ethnic or religious differences, social problems, conflicts, or as a sign of social and cultural (non-) affiliation. To the extent that sport focuses on the body, physical characteristics obtain symbolic relevance. Since physical characteristics are always the subject of interpretation and attribution, the physical body is an essential starting point for a variety of chains of associations, stereotypes and attributions (Seiberth 2012: 102-128).

Besides the social, cultural and symbolic relevance of the body, which can lead to strangeness in sport, the body can also play a role in selecting who can participate in a particular sport. The body constitution can therefore be a limiting factor. Where on the one hand the body opens up

all opportunities to participate, to exercise and to compete, it is, on the other hand, a limiting factor and responsible for exclusiveness that may sooner or later lead to exclusion.

7.5.2 ORGANIZATION AS AN INTEGRATIVE FORCE?

Within a society, sport is organized in different forms. The type of organization of sport influences the form and content of the sports portfolio as well as the possibility of participation and active contribution and belonging. Today's various sports can *inter alia* be practiced within the following four types of sports organizations.

(1) *The organization of «non-organized» sport.* Only a small part of the population which is active in sports is a member of a sports club. In fact, the majority of people practice sport informally. Individual jogging or cycling are classic examples of the informal way of exercising. In this setting, the focus is not on organization, but rather as a compelling and important component in the background, as it creates the conditions for informal sporting activity.

(2) *State sports providers.* In principle, sporting activities are part of private tasks and are therefore also predominantly organized privately. As a rule, the state acts only to a limited extent as an independent provider of sports opportunities – for example within the framework of school training institutions. However, the state is a central pillar of the background organization. The state is a pioneer in the development of sport, particularly as a responsible institution for the provision of public goods and the necessary infrastructure. In addition, the state assumes a controlling function and can use the mass and competitive sport as a steering instrument.

(3) *Commercial sports providers.* This category covers a broad spectrum of different commercial sports providers. In particular, but not exclusively, they differ in terms of the range on offer, the variety of programs and the number of customers. The broad spectrum refers to a process of product differentiation in which each individual supplier seeks its own market niche.

(4) *Sports club.* These clubs can be seen as communities of attitudes and values, in which group membership and social ties are also looked for in addition to sporting activity. The club symbolizes a certain social order and a communization. Voluntary membership is a prerequisite and justification for the autonomy of the organization, in which decisions are made democratically by members directly or indirectly. The power base in clubs is therefore the right

to vote, whereby the implementation of ideas and goals requires a majority in the decision-making bodies (Heinemann 2007: 117-135).

From the above-mentioned organizational forms, it can be deduced that sportspeople can choose their preferred form of organization according to their needs. In the organization of non-organized sports, the emphasis is on uncomplicated, unbound, individual sporting activities. In the case of commercial sports providers, the selection of the offer and the consumption of the sporting activity is first and foremost. Sport clubs, on the other hand, combine sporting activities with social interaction and group membership. However, precisely this last point is controversial in the ongoing debate, especially when the question arises as to whether clubs are an integrative force or contribute to the exclusion of certain persons.

«Sport activities, particularly when they are organized by clubs or other civic organizations, are assumed to reduce social and cultural barriers since they enable meetings among people with different backgrounds.» (Krouwel et al. 2006: 169)

Such statements dominate whenever reference is made to the integrative potential of organized club sport. Integration is then understood first and foremost as a universal achievement of organized sports. In this illustration, exclusion and strangeness are hidden as potential phenomena. However, clubs can also trigger the experience of non-belonging:

«Not Everyone is and/or feels equally welcome everywhere. Whether and to what extent specific groups are excluded from specific sports, organizations, or positions of leadership is not always explicit and clear-cut, but depends on shared experiences, constructed meanings, and ideological positions.» (Elling/Claringbould 2005: 499)

External perceptions can trigger an experience of strangeness towards an organization. Such external perceptions can lead to members of ethnic minorities often choosing ethnically homogenous sports spaces because they want to avoid negative experiences on the one hand and because they are perceived as uncomplicated interaction spaces on the other hand. In addition to external perceptions, internally generated experiences resulting from the personal participation in the social system of sport clubs can lead as well to an experience of strangeness towards an organization.

«The preference to be among one's ethnic fellows originates not from negative experiences during sport activities but from negative experiences in other social spheres. During leisure time, there is a clear wish to be among those with whom social interaction is uncomplicated, symmetrical and meaningful.» (Krouwel et al. 2006: 172)

Although most clubs offer open access, membership is clearly defined by who belongs to the club and who does not. The sense of unity and identity are therefore based on an organizational premise, namely, that affiliation is regulated by formal membership. In this way, an exclusion is created that excludes exactly those who are not members of a sports club. From this point of view, membership in sports clubs is generated on the basis of exclusion (Seiberth 2012: 160-173).

7.6 OLYMPISM

Since the development of the modern Olympic Games, the sporting event has developed into a major global phenomenon of enormous cultural, political, economic and social significance. Over 11,000 sportsmen and women from 206 national Olympic Committees took part in the 2016 Rio de Janeiro Olympics and half the population of the world watched the coverage of the event. Considering its supposedly pre-eminent position as a transcultural movement in global society and as the biggest existing spectacle on earth, it can be argued that the Olympic Games provide a significant chance for international interaction and the formation of a worldwide consciousness (International Olympic Committee 2016b, Spaaij 2012: 764-767).

Pierre de Coubertin, the founder of the modern Olympic Games, had taken the mission of internationalism very seriously. Coubertin was of the opinion that organized sport could be an agent of physical, social and cultural conversion. Tolerance, solidarity, fairness, respect for others, freedom and excellence were the values that Coubertin wanted to have transferred into the daily lives of all. In parallel with the development of the modern Olympic Games, Coubertin developed the philosophy of *Olympism*, which underlines the role of sport in global society as a peaceful, coexistent, social and moral education. Olympism regards sport as an instrument to cultivate and educate the individual. Coubertin was convinced that sports education – in particular Olympism – could contribute effectively to a peaceful social life and to the improvement of society (Spaaij 2012: 764-767)

The IOC adopted the fundamental principles of Olympism and established its code in the Olympic Charter. The following selected excerpt of the Olympic Charter is still valid today:

- *«Olympism is a philosophy of life, exalting and combining in a balanced whole the qualities of body, will and mind. Blending sport with culture and education, Olympism seeks to create a way of life based on the joy of effort, the educational value of good example, social responsibility and respect for universal fundamental ethical*

principles.»

- *«The goal of Olympism is to place sport at the service of the harmonious development of humankind, with a view to promoting a peaceful society concerned with the preservation of human dignity.»*
- *«The Olympic Movement is the concerted, organized, universal and permanent action, carried out under the supreme authority of the IOC, of all individuals and entities who are inspired by the values of Olympism. It covers the five continents. It reaches its peak with the bringing together of the world's athletes at the great sports festival, the Olympic Games. Its symbol is five interlaced rings.»*
- *«The practice of sport is a human right. Every individual must have the possibility of practicing sport, without discrimination of any kind and in the Olympic spirit, which requires mutual understanding with a spirit of friendship, solidarity and fair play.»*
- *«The enjoyment of the rights and freedoms set forth in this Olympic Charter shall be secured without discrimination of any kind, such as race, color, sex, sexual orientation, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.» (International Olympic Committee 2016a)*

For Coubertin the topic of peace education through sport was a key aspect of his work. He was fully aware of the fact that education for peace would begin on an individual level. He pointed out that the education of children in sport is the basis of mutual respect between human beings. Additionally, the competition itself and the participating athletes were for Coubertin, ambassadors of this peaceful education (Spaaij 2012: 767, Krüger 1986: 197).

7.6.1 OLYMPIC EDUCATION

Olympic education is about the Olympic idea and above all about the social and ethical-moral principles which Coubertin strove to be a task of youth education worldwide. If one wants to understand this Olympic ideal as an educational task, several keywords can be used for this purpose. Besides the two principles – *good example* and *harmonious formation of body and spirit* – there are also other principles to be mentioned: Friendship, peace, joy of performance, solidarity, training of willpower, mutual respect, no discrimination of other people on the basis of their origin, skin color or religion, the spirit of fairness and fair play as conduct and behavior. In this sense, Olympic education symbolizes learning goals that highlight the value orientation via and through sport (Naul 2007: 13-17).

The aim of Olympic education is to promote and consolidate social and moral behavior in order to provide children and young people with the diversity of the out-of-school appearance and with forms of interaction of organized and informal recreational, including mass sports, health and competitive sports, adventure and fun sports. According to Coubertin, there are several characteristics which he described in his famous broadcasting speech in August 1935 as *the philosophical foundations of modern Olympics*. Firstly, the sporting idea should shape the consciousness of athletes, and therefore they should represent a new human society and act as ambassadors for the education of civilized peoples. Secondly, athletes as citizens of the world are all equal. However, they represent a certain *selection* of their country, as they represent a physical superiority and versatility. In their development, they follow the principles of *citius, altius, fortius* – faster, higher, stronger (Coubertin 1966: 151). Coubertin, however, does not refer to the permanent increase of record performances in the sports disciplines at the Olympic Games, but rather the individual development task for the individual athlete to develop physically, intellectually and culturally. According to Coubertin, this permanent development of one's own personality also includes the bond of comradeship among athletes. He called it *chivalry* and by that meant mutual assistance. As a further feature of modern Olympism Coubertin mentioned the idea of *castle peace*, which is strongly connected with the idea of rhythm (Coubertin, 1966: 152). The constant and therefore temporal predictable return of the Olympic Games at a rhythm of four years was for Coubertin insofar important as he linked the hope that conflicts and wars of the peoples could be interrupted and temporarily suspended. According to Coubertin, the four foundations of Olympism describe tasks and objectives which, on the one hand, reflect the cultural foundations of the Olympic movement and, on the other hand, contain essential elements which still form the basis of Olympic education (Naul 2007: 13-27).

7.6.2 A GREAT EDUCATIONAL CONCEPT OR NOT?

In light of the numerous critics of the development of the Olympic Games and their appearances in the run-up to the Games in Atlanta 1996, Grupe (1997) raised the critical question whether or not one has to say goodbye to Olympism as a great educational concept. He therefore distinguished between the Olympic idea, which Coubertin had in mind, and the reality of the Olympic Games 100 years later. Grupe (1997) put the emphasis of Olympic sport on the principles of skills, performance and competition (Grupe 1997: 235). For him, these principles are the antitypes to nowadays popular adventure and fun sports. For Grupe (1997), Olympism is a specific sport education which complies with skills, fairness, solidarity and peace.

Gessmann (2002) in turn formulated the following objectives for Olympic education: Motor skills as «*performance*» and social action as «*fair play*» and «*mutual respect*». For Binder (2000), on the contrary, it is less important to be a winner in sports, or to become the best. For her, it is rather the development process and the education of values and norms that should be at the center of sports. Therefore, according to Binder (2000), the overall objective of Olympism is to «*be a champion in life!*» (Naul 2007: 30-65).

According to Teufel (2004), Olympism today symbolizes a united mankind and a unified world. The athletes of the world gather in a noble competition whereby the better should prevail. However, even the defeated is not a loser. Participation is everything, and everyone benefits from the Olympics and celebrates a unifying party (Teufel 2004: 7-9). But to speak of the Olympic Games as purely noble would not be an accurate description. In addition to the unifying element of nationality, every participating nation pursues selfish interests, with international recognition at the forefront. Although the Olympic Charter has clearly defined competition as a comparison of athletes' performances, the competition represents a struggle between nations for prestige and recognition (Teufel 2004: 9).

Olympic Games and Olympism represent in reality a Janus-faced character. On the one hand, they create a space of communication, understanding and connection. On the other hand, they represent the classic competition in the form of a comparison of performances.

7.7 CONCLUSIONS ON THE CONCEPT OF SPORT

Sport as a cultural field of activity is a complex concept. Although the concept of sport is on everybody's lips, the term is still difficult to be defined. In summary it can be said that the components (1) *physical performance*, (2) *competition*, (3) *specific set of rules*, and (4) *unproductiveness* can be assigned to the concept of sport. However, as this chapter has shown, sport is not as simple as that and is rather a complex topic area that is furthermore connected to other fields of social life. The following key points are fundamental and will contribute to the building of the theory:

- Sport as an overarching theory encompasses various spheres. Basically, sport can be distinguished from mass and competitive sport. In addition, categories such as leisure sport, adventure, risk sport, extreme sports and trend sports are available. Sport can be actively practiced as a sportswoman/ -man or passively consumed as a spectator of

sporting events. This project concentrates in particular on the active component of the categories mass sports, leisure sports, and partly competitive sports.

- The differentiation of sport as an independent functional system and the beginning of modern sport can be traced back to the middle of the 19th century, when sport began to orient itself both to the principle of performance and to the idea of maximum performance. In order to make the performances of athletes comparable, a uniform set of rules was introduced.
- The differentiation of sport did not lead into isolation from other social spheres. Rather, a variety of exchange relations arose between sports and other areas, such as politics, economics, education, family and science. There are five different types of social relationships: (1) Transfer relationships, (2) regulatory relations, (3) cooperative relations, (4) ideological-value-oriented relationships, and (5) functional relations. At the center of this project are ideological-value-oriented relationships and in particular the aspect under which the thought patterns of sport (fairness, loyalty solidarity and trust) become applicable and valid in other areas of social life.
- Sport plays an important role in most societies, is considered as an omnipresent social field and has reached global importance. Even though sport is a global phenomenon, each country has developed and maintained its own sports culture. National identity therefore remains an important aspect of sport and an integral element of nation building.
- Competitive sport can be seen as the core manifestation of modern sport, to which values such as achievement, competition, performance and fair play are attributed. But in addition to the many positive values, there are also negative values associated with sport. Depending on the context and the way of practicing sport, positive or negative values can occur.
- Sport as a game may well create a competitive situation. However, this situation is mitigated by the common binding rules of the game, ensuring a fair starting position regarding shared social interactions.
- In sport, social interactions with others are primarily linked to physicality. Gaining membership in the social field of sport takes place through the use of the body. Sport can therefore be characterized as a physical- and human-orientated social area with an explicit physical reference. The importance of the body effects access to sport. On the

one hand, personal encounters and the immediacy of physical experience facilitate familiarization and rapprochement. On the other hand, the body of the «other» in sport is frequently the starting point for experiencing differences.

- Modern sport is a reflection of modern forms of associativity, where the essential basic organizational unit of modern sport is the club. Although the club offers open access, membership is clearly defined by who belongs to the club and who does not. The sense of unity and the associated identity are therefore based on a formal membership. The issue of exclusion may occur because memberships in sports clubs can also generate new lines of inclusion and exclusion.
- Social integration is an example of social processes in sport which is a relevant aspect for the concept of peacebuilding and reconciliation. The challenge to be overcome in the field of social integration is the fact that if sport should have an integrative function, one must also actively integrate in sport.
- The initial idea of modern peace education through sport can be traced back to Coubertin's philosophy of Olympism. It regards sport as an instrument to cultivate and educate the individual and includes the educational aspect of mutual respect based on strength. The link between Olympism and Olympic Games can raise questions, especially the comparison of peace education with egoistic interests and their primary emphasis on international recognitions.

PART III: THEORY BUILDING

Part II examined in detail the single theoretical components required for the forthcoming development of the new theoretical framework. This *Part III* aims to merge the decisive parts of each theory and to create a new theoretical framework «*sport as a bridge-building activity and a tool to promote peace in divided societies*». Therefore, the following topics will be discussed in the chapters below:

- Linking the concept of sport with the concept of peace (discussed in *chapter 8*)
- Paving the route towards sustainable peace (discussed in *chapter 9*)
- Modelling the new theoretical framework (discussed in *chapter 10*)

8 LINKING SPORT AND PEACE

The previous part has shown how complex the topic around the concept of peace is and how broadly the concept of sport can be interpreted. The process of peace itself is very complex and therefore forces one to think about the steps to be taken, from the outbreak of a violent conflict via peacebuilding – in particular through reconciliation – up to sustainable positive peace (Galtung 1996). Not only do the steps have to be well thought out, but the way in which peace can be implemented is a crucial part within a specific peacebuilding process. The entire layout of the peacebuilding process is necessary in order to identify the relevant components of such a process and to identify the interfaces with the concept of sport. A number of aspects of sport, for example, the values and the associated change processes, can be beneficial in potential peace processes. In particular, sport as a game, i.e. an activity in which people compete with each other according to agreed rules, seems to be ideal for a peacebuilding process. At the same time, the concept of sport cannot be a remedy for peace as it also includes a number of risks.

Based on the findings of the previous chapters, a first attempt to link the concept of sport with the concept of peacebuilding will be made in the following sections. In particular, they will discuss, firstly, the contribution of sport to a potential process of peace (cf. *chapter 8.1*), secondly, the risks at stake (cf. *chapter 8.2*), and lastly, the lines of conflict concerning the linkage between sport and peace (cf. *chapter 8.3*). Only in a second stage (cf. *chapters 9 and 10*) will a strategy be developed and further explained, that includes sport as an effective tool to promote peace.

8.1 THE POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTION OF SPORT

In the introductory chapters (cf. *part I*), existing approaches within the SDP sector have been pointed out. Up to now, current approaches highlighted various key points on how the use of sport could have a positive impact on peacebuilding processes. Among others, sport was connected particularly to the following five thematic areas: (1) *universal popularity*, (2) *relationship builder*, (3) *platform of communication*, (4) *crosscutting tool*, and (5) *empowerment, motivation and inspiration* (Cardenas 2012, Dienes 2012, SDP IWG 2008). However, by now the above-mentioned thematic areas very roughly describe the use of sport as an instrument of peace promotion. For this reason, it will be examined in greater detail which assumptions strengthens the idea that sport can be used as a relevant instrument for the promotion of peace. Therefore, the respective key aspects of the concept of sport will be pointed out and assigned to suitable aspects of peacebuilding respectively conflict transformation.

(1) *Sport as a common denominator*. Through the development of modern sport, sport has spread all over the world and established itself as a global phenomenon. The popularity of sport today can be illustrated by the number of countries participating at the Olympic Games and the number of FIFA member associations (cf. Table 3).

Table 3: Comparison of the number of member states

ORGANIZATION	WORLD	UN	FIFA	OLYMPIC GAMES
Participants/Members	207	193	211	206

The world currently consists of 207 states, of which 193 are member states of the UN. 206 countries participated in the last summer Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro. FIFA even counts 211 associations amongst their members (FIFA 2017, Olympics 2017, United Nations 2017, Wikipedia 2017). How can we now establish a link between the universal element of sport and the use of sport as a peace promoting tool? The «*universality*» of sport generates a global common denominator that manifests itself at least in the practice of the most popular sports globally. Sport, as a global phenomenon and as a cross-national common denominator symbolizes a linking element that connects all nations (Heinemann 2007, Weiss/Norden 2013). As presented earlier, the idea of building relationships and creating shared platforms of encounter is one of the principal goals within the process of reconciliation (Warnecke/Franke 2010). It is mainly based on the contact hypothesis (Allport 1954), which states that intergroup contact can have positive effects in reducing intergroup stereotypes and common prejudices.

Therefore, an unbiased, immaculate commonalty is exactly the right tool. The element of sport that binds people together can thus be regarded as an ideal foundation and also as a necessary starting point, in order that a peacebuilding process, especially in the phase of reconciliation, can be initiated.

(2) *Sport as a point of reference.* Sport as a common denominator and as a cross-national element continues to be a generally recognized point of reference in times of conflict, violence, and distrust. Irrespective of how far hostile groups within a certain society have drifted away from each other, sport is still preserved in its basic form and remains a global field of activity (Heinemann 2007). It is precisely the presence of this point of reference that is of particular relevance in a period where a divided society must be brought together again. Sport can come to light as a point of reference in different ways – in its active form, or even just as a means of conversation. Either way, a common point of reference is a guarantee to break the first ice, which is in regard to the process of peacebuilding an important first step towards common social interactions and in addition a relevant aspect of future relationship building (Lederach 1997).

(3) *Sport as a meeting ground.* A common point of reference, a common theme, a common activity, a common passion – all this is an ideal catalyst to bring people together in one place and establish a meeting ground accordingly. The place of encounter does not have to be understood as a local fixed point. On the contrary, it includes all those public spaces, organizations and infrastructures that guarantee complete and unconditional access for all (Edwards et al. 2015). Sport, as a common denominator, can therefore be a potential driving force behind the (re-)construction of public spaces and places of encounter. At the same time, the political neutrality of public spaces is a prerequisite for joint activities to be carried out as a whole. Platforms of encounter and dialogue are key elements of several peacebuilding phases (Maoz 2011). The main instrument used by current peacebuilders is dialogue-based projects between hostile communities, combined with a bottom-up peacebuilding strategy to empower the involved communities (Lederach 1997, Lefranc 2011). By providing meeting grounds for and through physical activities, sport becomes a beneficial tool within the peacebuilding processes.

(4) *Sport as a breeding ground for social exchange.* Once a public space has been created in which a common activity in the form of sport can be exercised, it offers people a place of encounter and interaction. Increasing social interactions can be lived with varying intensity. On the one hand, it can be limited to common sporting activities. On the other hand, certain sports

require a more pronounced form of communication regarding teambuilding, defining the rules or laying out the tactics within the team. Either way, social interactions among people can develop step by step and flow into social exchanges beyond sport. In the context of peacebuilding, the playful element of sport and the interaction within defined rules seem to stimulate social growth in particular. As pointed out previously, the process through reconciliation into a peace culture is characterized by the need for former hostile groups to develop or renew cooperative relationships with each other. Cooperative relations subsist on social interactions (Bar-Tal 2009, Lederach 1997, Maoz 2011). Therefore, sport – in particular in the form of game-based activities – provides the opportunity to create social interactions, social exchanges and cooperative behavior within an environment of common interests, shared goals and a mutual exercised activity. Furthermore, sport is able to foster the bottom-up strategy, which is guided by interpersonal relations and founded on the idea that individuals are the catalyst for social change (Lederach 1997, Lefranc 2011). Therefore, social exchange in sport and platforms of communication are adequate means when it comes to bottom-up peacebuilding in the phase of reconciliation.

(5) *Sport as a means to develop crosscutting identities.* Through the regular practice of sport, people become active participants and part of a moving community within which they start to feel a sense of constructive interaction and belonging. Sport, therefore, nourishes emotions that describe feelings of belonging, integration and identification (Heinemann 2007). A positive social identity is often attained by the comparison of the own group with others in order to create a positively valued psychological particularity for the in-group in relation the out-group (Horowitz 1985, Oberschall 2007). The transformation from separate identities towards a shared identity is a key element for successful peacebuilding and therefore the main goal during the process of reconciliation. By sharing the same activity, people start to share a part of their identity. Being a sportsman or a sportswoman, exercising the same type of sport is an element that emphasizes similarities rather than differences. For this reason, sport is able to form crosscutting groups that break down psychological walls and encourage people to interact and cooperate with each other (Schirch 2001).

(6) *Sport as an agent of equality.* As pointed out in the previous chapters, inequalities and contrasts fuel current ethnic conflicts. In particular, the outbreak of frustration, anger and violence can be explained by inequalities (Cederman et al. 2013). With regard to a successful conflict transformation, inequality, exclusion, and suppression have to be eliminated and replaced by trust, equality, and inclusiveness. As emphasized earlier, sport contains certain

aspects of equality. (i) Sport is characterized by the principles of formal equality of opportunity, performance, competition and record. (ii) At the beginning of a competition, all participants are equal. (iii) Same sports all over the world are always exercised according to the same rules (Heinemann 2007, Weiss/Norden 2013). These three components of equality in sport create an environment with equal conditions and common ideas. Positive values triggered by this type of equality are values such as fair play, acceptance of binding rules, tolerance and respect. These generated values do not only have a positive effect on peacebuilding. The recurring element of equal opportunities reminds a society of the importance of fair play and competition under equal conditions.

(7) *Positive values stimulated by the requirement profile for sport.* In order to achieve sustainable peace, the building of social capital, i.e. the establishment of informal shared norms and values among the members of society, is an essential part for an effective and lasting conflict transformation (Warnecke/Franke 2010). Sport provides positive values (cf. *chapter 7.4.2*), in three different ways. (i) Values are triggered as a result of the structure and form of organization in modern sport. (ii) Values are triggered by the condition of the core concept of modern sport – the component of performance. (iii) Values are triggered by the active and/or passive consumption of sport. The shared use of time in sport thus automatically results in shared use of the values triggered by sport. Ideological-value-oriented relationships develop at best and thinking patterns of sport (e.g. fairness, loyalty solidarity, trust) become applicable and valid in other areas of life (Heinemann 2007, Wilson 2012). Either way, the confrontation with positive values and the shared time in applying those values during sport activities increases and strengthens the social capital of an affected society and therefore contributes to the building of sustainable peace.

(8) *Pursuit of common interests and goals by the means of sport.* Changes of attitudes, emotions, beliefs, motivations and goals symbolize the essence of reconciliation (Hazan 2009). The emphasis is on commonalities and common goals constitute the peace culture to be developed. Cooperation with respect to mutual goals is one of the primary conditions to be fulfilled for effective intergroup contact. Cooperation and the pursuit of common interests are also characteristics that occur within sport (Bar-Tal 2009). Team sports, in general, are known to promote the spirit of teamwork and individual sports also create such kind of cooperation, as they depend on a group to achieve the intended training results. Sport can therefore encourage people to cooperate with each other, as it is a key feature in the pursuit of common interests and common goals. Furthermore, the ongoing cooperation results in developing a shared identity

and is therefore beneficial for the process of reconciliation (Heinemann 2007, Poletta/Jasper 2001, Seippel 2006). The pursuit of the same goals in order to achieve the defined objectives brings people closer together as they start to identify themselves as part of an (interest)group.

(9) *Shared emotions in sport.* In sport, emotions occur in varied forms. Activity-related feelings, i.e. feelings that arise in the execution of the action itself and feelings of attachment, belonging, integration and identification that arise as part of social relationships. Emotions in sport accompany people through ups and downs. To be pleased about a victory, overcoming disappointments, recognizing performances and accepting weaknesses and challenges are all a part of sporting activities (Heinemann 2007). As a member of a particular team, one shares these emotions with their teammates. As an individual sportsman or sportswoman, the emotions shared with the sports community affect the community as a whole. Hence, besides common interests, common goals and shared values, emotions are a strong linking element between people and represent another common good provided and supported by sport.

(10) *Highlighting commonalities through sport.* The last point basically summarizes the previous nine aspects by emphasizing the existing commonalities among people involved in sport. Sport, therefore, represent a melting-pot of common interests, common emotions, common values, common goals, commonly accepted rules, common interactions, common affiliation and common identities. The number of commonalities underlines the connecting function attributed to sport, which is one of the strongest arguments that sport can be an effective tool of peacebuilding.

8.2 RISKS INVOLVED

In addition to the contribution of sport within the peacebuilding processes, there are also hidden risks in the field of sport. Some of these risks have already partially been addressed above (cf. *chapter 2.2*). Some of the risks named above include issues such as social exclusion, violence, nationalism and the paradox that sport was historically used as an instrument in preparation for war. Some scholars have pointed out that positive values and contributions of sport to peacebuilding are often overestimated, whereas the negative side of sport is often underestimated and neglected (Giulianotti/Armstrong 2011, Hurrel 2016, Wilson 2012). However, negative manifestations came to light when discussing the subject of values that are triggered by sport (cf. *chapter 7.4.2*). Such negative influences cannot and must not be ignored and must therefore be made transparent as risk factors in relation to the peacebuilding processes.

This is the only way to construct a suitable tool for peacebuilding in the future. For this reason, the associated risks are discussed in the following subsections.

(1) *Negative appearance of nationalism in sport.* Nationalism is an integral part of major international sporting events and can be regarded as a current reference value. As has already been pointed out, the continued accompaniment of nationalism in the sphere of competitive sport is due to the nation-based structuring of global sport. In international competitions in which national teams compete against each other, nationalism and nationality become a prominent subject and a point of reference for one's own identity. Successes or defeats may turn into a benchmark for a nation. Thus, nations are evaluated and classified according to their sporting results (Cronin 1999, Laetsch 2008). The unifying and transnational element needed for peacebuilding processes is lost in this categorization and must give way to nationalism. In this sense, an intergroup comparison may lead to expressions of negative nationalism and might stimulate intermediate steps towards grievances and finally to the onset of intergroup conflicts. In cases where sport causes negative nationalism that promotes delimitation and further social exclusion, sport does not seem to be an adequate instrument for peacebuilding and conflict resolution.

(2) *Racism in sport.* Collective identities such as nationalism cause inevitably a certain kind of delimitation, which consequently induces another grading element into the field of sport. In the context of most sporting activities, the relationship in which individuals interact is an immediate and unavoidably physical one. External characteristics of the body occur in interaction with somebody else. Since physical characteristics are always subject to interpretations and classification, the body becomes an essential starting point for stereotyping (Seiberth 2012). The physical otherness of the respective other person/group is therefore implicitly experienced in the practice of sport. The physical aspect in sport can lead to a symbolic border and can give rise to stereotyping and racial symbolism (Bröskamp 1994, Laetsch 2008). One of the main goals within a peacebuilding process is to build social relationships, advance the process of reconciliation and overcome stereotypes. Sport is thus exposed to a voltage ratio, whereby the question is, whether an instrument that may cause stereotypes can be used to overcome stereotypes.

(3) *Violence as a challenge in sport.* During exercising, uncontrolled emotions that end up in violent behavior, often break out under pressure in competitive situations. Even if there are rules installed to prevent aggression and violence in sport, there is often a rule violation

triggered by the emotions involved. In addition to the potential outbreak of violence in the active practice of sport, the most famous version of violence and aggression in the field of sport – hooliganism – occurs in the passive consumption of sport (Rookwood/Palmer 2011). Everybody is familiar with images of violent riots after big sports events. As defined earlier, peace is nonviolent and focuses on the prevention of violence in the political process (cf. *chapter 4.1*). Therefore, the creation of peace, both negative and positive peace, focuses on reducing violence and avoiding violence in all circumstances. The violence that occurs in sport at large is therefore a potential threat to peacebuilding processes.

(4) *Sport as a starting point for social exclusion.* There are two main exclusion mechanisms that can be observed in the field of sport. On the one hand, there is a physical exclusion. On the other hand, the structuring of modern sport is also responsible for the exclusion of fellow human beings (Elling/Claringbould 2005, Seiberth 2012). Indeed, the body opens all opportunities to participate, exercise and compete in sport. However, at the same time, the body can play a significant role in the selection of suitable athletes. In this context, body constitution is a limiting factor and responsible for exclusivity (Hatcher 2017). Furthermore, while the social equality processes of women have been pushed forward in the last decades, access to certain types of sports are still influenced by gender, particularly in sport where the physical aspects and body contact in general are a focus. Again, it is the body that causes restrictions to unconditional access to sport. Besides the integrative force, sport clubs and the structuring of sport in general also contribute to exclusion. By joining a sports club, one gains membership and can identify him- or herself with the club community. However, being a member of the community requires a formal affiliation which in turn contributes to exclusion by excluding those who are not members of their sports club (Heinemann 2007, Weiss/Norden 2013, Seiberth 2012). As highlighted before, ethnic conflicts are caused by grievance and in particular by dominance, exclusion, inequalities, and suppression along ethnic lines. Exclusion and competition along ethnical lines are therefore strongly associated with internal conflicts (Cederman 2010). One of the countermeasures mentioned is to eliminate inequality, exclusion, and suppression. Again, it can be noticed, that sport is confronted with a stress ratio. On the one hand, sport causes exclusion and on the other, it contributes to inclusion. The latter element is obligatory for a potential peacebuilding instrument.

(5) *Paradox – if sport should be integrative, one must be integrated into sport.* Point five shows the challenge to be overcome as well as the limiting factor in terms of sport's ability to integrate people. In other words, this paradox can be compared with the question, which deals with

«*whether the egg or the chicken came first*». Of course, relying on social interactions and platforms of encounters strengthens the integrative aspect of sport. However, integration only works if one is integrated into the sports movement (Heinemann 2007, Weiss/Norden 2013). With regard to the aspects stated in point four (*exclusion*), integration through sport seems to be even more difficult.

(6) *Sport as a creator of adversaries and dominators*. Reconciliation describes the process that allows a society to move from a divided past to a shared future. Therefore, peacebuilding focuses on the development of peaceful coexistence between former adversaries by fostering the ability among the parties involved to cooperate with each other. This is done by eliminating dominant relationships and by nourishing a «*healthy*» competition (Hazan 2009). On closer inspection, however, it can be seen that the very points to be eliminated also occur in the field of sport. By comparing performances, modern sport creates a system of adversaries and competitions in which losers, as well as winners, are presented and the dominance of power becomes visible. The system of adversaries and the visibility of dominance are also characteristics of fascism, where the admiration of strength and the despise of weakness is at the center (Laetsch 2008, Tännjö 2000, Tamburini 2000). Therefore, sport is once again confronted with an element that is not in harmony with peacebuilding.

(7) *Individualist behavior and egoism as a driving force in sport*. There are several reasons why individuals exercise sport. Fun, glory, excitement, individual accomplishment and team structures, just to name a few (Seippel 2006). As by definition, sport is strongly connected to performance, and therefore one of the core motivations in sport is the pursuit of performance. However, the obstacles that athletes have to face due to physical activities are always to be overcome individually and also the individual contribution to team performance always depends on an individual performance. Individualist behavior is therefore a strong manifestation within the field of sport. Particularly in the context of competition, individualist behavior is often negatively afflicted, as it comes close to the concept of egoism and ignorance to achieve top performances. Cooperation, pluralism and coexistence are at the center of a peacebuilding process. Since individualist behavior is strongly developed in the field of sport, there is a risk that egoistic behavior will prevail and thus the required attributions of cooperation will be ousted.

(8) *Quest of performance as a stumbling stone*. In sport, the factor of performance plays an important role. Sport is strongly associated with the promotion and rewarding of performance.

Individualist behavior, athletic «arms race», exploitation, playing through pain, abuse of doping, fraud and corruption are regarded as negative afflicted elements in the context of performance (cf. *chapter 7.4.2*). All these elements refer to the focus on performance and the relating pressure to achieve it. The performance required to win and break new records is nowadays so high that sportsmen and sportswomen may leave the path of fair play and the path of chasing their own limits. Instead, athletes are tempted to take the road beyond their own limits, where they abuse their body or are even forced to cheat (Tännsjö 2000, Tamburini 2000). These negative effects, which are triggered by the quest of performance, object to the concept of peacebuilding, where cooperation, transparency, trust-building and equal opportunities are required.

Although this dissertation focusses primary on the active component of mass sport, leisure sport and competitive sport, the negative aspects occurring within the passive component of sport are pointed out as well. Since there is a reciprocal relation between mass and competitive sport as well as between the active and the passive manifestation of sport, it is important to name all the potential risks involved.

The following chapter compares the contribution of sport with the associated risks involved and determines which routes towards sustainable peace should be taken.

8.3 LINES OF CONFLICT

Dealing with the topic of sport and peacebuilding always means dealing with the conflicting effects of sport on the peacebuilding process – the positive and negative effects. In order for sport to be used as a constructive and effective instrument within peacebuilding processes, the positive contributions of sport (*opportunities*) must first be confronted with the negative influences (*risks*). Based on an initial comparison, six potential lines of conflict are outlined in the following section.

(1) *Connecting element vs. delimitation*. The first line of conflict runs between the connecting element and the delimiting, even isolating element in sport. The former element refers in particular to commonalities that receive greater visibility within the field of sport. The latter refers to the selfish, solitary part occurring in sport as well as to the very pronounced nationalism.

(2) *Social equality vs. stereotyping*. The second line of conflict in the field of sport and peacebuilding concerns the stress ratio between social equality and the reference to otherness,

with a focus on stereotyping. Social equality in this sense refers particularly to a community within a social environment with equal conditions and common understanding. The counterpart to equality concerns the phenomena of stereotyping, which highlights differences and organizes people into specific categories.

(3) *Integration vs. exclusion.* The stress ratio between integration and exclusion is similar to the conflict between the connecting element and the delimiting element in sport. Integration includes all efforts to create spaces of encounter, efforts to build relationships and beyond that all activities that foster commonalities, cooperation and a sense of common bond. Exclusion, on the other hand, includes the issue concerning physical exclusion and the exclusion of fellow human beings caused by the organization of modern sport. In addition, the paradox – *if sport should be integrative, one must be integrated into sport* – can be counted as an issue of exclusion as well.

(4) *Equal rights vs. domination.* Another line of conflict can be detected by comparing the issue of domination on the one side and the issue of equal rights on the other side. Domination in the context of sport and peacebuilding refers in particular to the outcome of competitions and the output triggered by the pursuit of top performances, whereas domination obtains greater visibility. Juxtaposed to the issue of domination is the idea of a community with equal rights. Equality in this context refers to the rule-based organization of sport, where everybody has an equal starting point and must follow the same rules.

(5) *Performance requirements vs. quest for performance.* Performance in sport can trigger different kind of values. The positive and the negative outcomes caused by the feature of performance describe this particular stress ratio within the field of sport and peacebuilding. The positive affiliated side of chasing performance includes values triggered by the requirement of the respective type of sport. The negative side of chasing performances are those actions and values that are triggered by the pressure to perform and the uncompromising thinking to achieve the defined goals.

(6) *Rules and order vs. violence.* The last line of conflict includes the discrepancy between peace and violence. On the one hand, sport ensures the application of global rules, which can guarantee a certain order and peaceful handling in sport. On the other hand, sporting events and activities are partially infiltrated by violent behavior.

Based on the identified lines of conflict, the strategy for the effective use of sport as a tool to promote peace will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter. To this end, six significant routes towards peace will be developed.

9 ROUTE TOWARDS SUSTAINABLE PEACE THROUGH SPORT

This chapter prepares the new theoretical framework towards sustainable peace by using sport as a bridge-building activity and a tool to promote peace. Linking the concept of sport with the concept of peacebuilding revealed a number of overlapping issues. It has been shown that within the process of conflict transformation, most of the intersections between sport and peacebuilding exist within the phase of reconciliation.

Beside these overlaps, there are as well a couple of lines of conflict that need to be taken into account. Negative effects discovered in the context of the executed risk analysis are potential dangers that can set back an initiated peace process. It is, therefore, necessary to design the strategy of sport and peacebuilding in such a way that those characteristics that have a positive impact on peacebuilding take effect. At the same time, the potential lines of conflict must be taken into consideration as the strategy must be designed in such a way that the associated risks can be kept under control. This is done to ensure that the risks do not become disruptive factors.

In the following subchapters, the route to sustainable peace through sport is outlined on the basis of six central premises. These premises are key elements and serve as a guideline for the new theoretical framework to be developed in *chapter 10*.

9.1 ROUTE 1: WINDOW OF OPPORTUNITY

Peacebuilding is a process that consists of a multitude of individual steps. The end of an ethnic conflict creates a complex agenda to rebuild the political machinery, the civil service and guaranteeing a minimum of physical security (Huyse 2003: 27). Since peacebuilding is a protracted and complex process, it is not enough to generalize and simplify the entire process by saying that sport can be used as a tool to promote peace. It is therefore necessary to determine in advance which prerequisites must be given and which is the most appropriate timing in order for sport to have a chance to be applied as a powerful tool in the field of conflict transformation. Furthermore, it is also necessary to define in which way the process of peacebuilding and the use of sport should be implemented as an effective tool.

Since every ethnic conflict is a context-specific individual case, the causes that led to an outbreak of warfare must be identified and understood. Only with a complete understanding of what caused the outbreak of a particular ethnic conflict can the right measures be taken to initiate peacebuilding (Galtung 1996).

In order to decide whether the context of a specific case favors the use of sport as a tool to promote peace is even more complex and depends on the root causes that triggered the respective conflict. As a point of departure, the ethnic groups' position within a society, the historical processes behind the development of a society, as well as the potential trigger of an ethnic conflict have to be detected. If the outbreak of an ethnic conflict can be traced back to the grievance approach, which assumes that dominance, exclusion, inequality, and suppression along ethnic lines generate grievances that stimulated civil war (Cederman et al. 2010), sport can be given the opportunity to serve as an effective means. This argument is based on the analysis of countermeasures, which are worth considering to fight back against the causes of war. Trust, equality and inclusiveness are phenomena that appear in sport and are as well needed to resolve conflicts caused by grievances. These overlaps indicate that sport can be a relevant tool within peacebuilding.

As presented earlier, the process from an outbreak of war towards sustainable peace can be divided into three phases. The first phase contains the issue of confrontation, where peacekeeping aims to end immediate violent and hostile actions. Negotiation is part of the second phase, in which peacemaking measures step in to solve a conflict by using instruments such as mediation and negotiation. The last step towards sustainable peace is covered by peacebuilding, which pursues long-term goals consisting of social change and by bringing the root causes of the conflict into focus (Galtung 1996, Ramsbotham et al 2005). Based on the assumption that active sport cannot ensure a ceasefire and/or end violence, and will not be the crucial aspect during negotiations, the phases of peacekeeping and peacemaking can be seen as the wrong period to use sport as an active means of peace promotion. On the contrary, the subcategory «*peacebuilding*» has a common overlap with the concept of sport in terms of the features necessary to establish a successful long-term peace development.

Of course, it is really difficult to determine in advance the perfect timing for the promotion of sporting activities as a peacebuilding tool. Comparing the requirements necessary for social reconciliation, which aims to install horizontal trust between citizens, with the contribution of sport to the process of peace, it can be noted that the period of social reconciliation is the right

window of opportunity to implement sport as an effective tool (Hazan 2009). As the process of reconciliation cannot be rushed, it is quite difficult to define the temporal sequences ahead of time. The consolidation phase, which emphasizes the period of reconciliation, can take up to ten years (Warnecke/Franke 2010). Therefore, the appropriate time frame of the various phases within the process (e.g. achieving peaceful coexistence and trust) depends on each context (Huyse 2003: 32).

In summary, when designing and implementing an appropriate process of reconciliation for a particular context, numerous factors need to be taken into account. It is furthermore important to resist rapid results, as rapid results only scratch the surface (Bloomfield 2003: 47).

9.2 ROUTE 2: PUBLIC SPACE

The creation of a public space is the first measure that needs to be implemented in order to provide the necessary fundament for the use of sport as a tool within the reconciliation process. But what exactly is a public space and why is it of particular interest to the peacebuilding process in connection with the use of sport?

Public spaces refer to an area that is accessible and open to all people, regardless of ethnicity, race, gender, age or socio-economic level. Generally spoken, public spaces are social spaces such as plazas, public squares and roads that develop gathering, interaction and social mixing. The most important pillar of the overall concept is the commonly shared ground and the open access and usage throughout the society (UNESCO 2017).

Within public spaces, an existing society or a society that needs to be rebuilt, is provided with an area to initiate the process of reconciliation. As we have seen so far, reconciliation is a process that aims to build and heal interpersonal and communal relationships. Relationships can therefore be seen as the long-term solution to conflicts (Galtung 2001, Lederach 1997). In order to initiate a successful process of reconciliation, a social space must be provided where people can meet and discuss past and future concerns. In other words, public spaces represent a social platform where reconciliation can take place (Lederach 1997).

In the context of the use of sport as a peacebuilding tool, public spaces have to be designed in such a way that people are able to engage in sport – alone or in groups. It can therefore be an isolated infrastructure for sporting activities or infrastructures which are integrated into public spaces with open access. Either way, sport is a rather flexible tool that can be exercised in any type of geographical environment (urban, rural, wastelands and woodland environment, etc.)

and socio-economic environment (wealthy regions, disadvantaged areas, etc.). Public spaces do not need to provide the latest and most attractive infrastructure. It is more important to free up a part of the public space for the use of sport so that all kinds of local actors can adapt their practices and use alternative equipment (Hubler 2012: 55, 60).

In addition, public spaces are needed so that a bottom-up peacebuilding strategy can take root in promoting peace by the use of sport. As pointed out earlier, the main idea of the bottom-up peacebuilding strategy is to reinforce the local population. The consolidation and development of adequate resources for the implementation of the peacebuilding process are therefore the responsibility of the population. Bottom-up peacebuilding practices are based on dialogue approaches and on the idea that the individuals are the motor for social change. Public spaces respectively *public sport spaces* are therefore needed to enable the people to revitalize daily inter-group relations among ethnic, religious or regional groups (Lederach 1997: 40-42, Lefranc 2011: 2-10).

Within the framework of the peacebuilding process and along the process of reconciliation, the planning of public sport spaces must provide reasonable facilities. Public spaces compose the backbone of a city to meet and interact. In this kind of setting, sport becomes an excellent tool for attracting, mobilizing and involving people in community life (Ragan/Podmolikova 2016).

Likewise, less visible factors that can have a powerful impact on whether public spaces foster the gathering and mixing of a diverse society during the process of reconciliation are not to be neglected. For example, ethnic differences are sometimes broadly reflected in geographical location, e.g. spatial separation. Elsewhere, different communities may live in close proximity to each other in the same space. Both situations can have an impact on the creation of the space for reconciliation and must be taken into account when planning public sports spaces and stimulating the process of reconciliation (Bloomfield 2003: 47).

9.3 ROUTE 3: ACCESS TO SPORT

Sport as a common denominator and as a cross-national element seems to be a perfect means to bring people together in times of conflict, violence and mistrust and to establish a meeting ground. However, once the right timing (*Route 1*) has been found to use sport as peace promoting tool within the peacebuilding process and once the requirement of public spaces (*Route 2*) is fulfilled, it has not been assured yet that there is an inclusive access for all to sport. Therefore, the two potential lines of conflict occurring in the field of sport and peacebuilding –

connecting element vs. delimitation and *integration vs. exclusion* – need to be addressed. But how must sport be organized to ensure inclusive access for all in the context of conflict transformation?

There are three relevant aspects to be taken into account in ensuring open access to sport and preventing sport from becoming a starting point of social exclusion: (1) *public spaces*, (2) *organization*, and (3) *adequate type of sport*.

(1) The first issue – *public spaces* – has already been described in detail in *Route 2* (cf. *chapter 9.2*). Public sports spaces include all public spaces, organizations and infrastructures that guarantee complete and unconditional access for everybody. It must be ensured that these sport-based platforms of encounter, exercise and dialogue are politically neutral and secure spaces. What has not yet been sufficiently discussed are the further requirements regarding open sports spaces, which are absolutely mandatory for the successful implementation of open access to sport. Firstly, it is important to take a strategic consideration regarding the geographic location of potential public spaces into account. In areas where former enemies are settled in physically separated locations, it is important to find a geographical location to establish a new common public space where both communities have open access to and which they consider a neutral ground. Secondly, the issue of security – which is connected to the recent reflections above – must be guaranteed within the newly established public sports spaces. Therefore, a neutral supervision of public spaces must be installed (Edwards et al. 2015: 8-10, Sobotová et al. 2016). Such supervision can be understood as a starting support for the further formation of trust and relationship development between divided groups.

(2) The second issue – *organization* – includes the difficulty regarding the organizational unit that structures formal sport and determines which people are and are not a member of a sports community. As shown earlier, in addition to the integrative aspect of sports clubs, there are some aspects that trigger exclusion. Although the club offers open access, membership is clearly defined and excludes those people who are not members of the sports club (Seiberth 2012: 160-173). Furthermore, there are risks lurking in club structures that persuade members of a certain ethnic group to choose ethnically homogenous sports clubs. This is because they do not expect any negative experiences in such an organization which they perceive as uncomplicated and safe interaction spaces (Krouwel et al. 2006: 172). In addition, a certain structuring of some types of sport may generate entry costs that may cause barriers to access the sport (Edwards et al. 2015: 8). In order to guarantee open access to sport in the period of

post-conflict transition, club structures and any kind of structuring that set up entry barriers do not appear to be the right type of organization. More promising are those measures that establish organized but informal sporting activities led by supervisors/coaches and that are accessible at no cost. In this type of organization, the issues of exclusion and costs are banished.

(3) The third issue – *adequate type of sport* – addresses the difficulties in choosing the right type of sport, which can overcome the barriers to participation. As pointed out earlier, exercising sport is primarily bound to physicality. As the physical component has such a high significance, it plays a key role in the stress ratio regarding «*integration vs. exclusion*». In general, the body plays a significant role in the selection of suitable athletes, whereby the body constitution is a limiting factor and responsible for exclusiveness. In addition, religion, culture, gender and disability, to name just a few examples, are also potential barriers to participation in sport. Religion, for example, can prevent people from exercising certain sports. Sports have dress codes that can discriminate against religion. Furthermore, some religions and cultures allow participation in sport only if genders exercise separately from each other and are taught only by the same sex (Hatcher 2017). Moreover, the physical aspect of sport is as well a starting point to experience differences, which is still evident for some types of sport that still struggle with the issue of racism and discrimination against ethnic minority communities (Laetsch 2008). In order to choose the adequate type of sport, all potential barriers must be kept in mind and minimized as much as possible within a particular context.

Route 3 – access to sport – is one of the most relevant aspects of the use of sport as an effective tool during peacebuilding processes. If open access cannot be guaranteed, the intended goal of bringing people together and sharing commonalities through exercising has failed.

9.4 ROUTE 4: GOAL-ORIENTED DESIGN OF SPORT

Based on the previously developed routes, *Route 4* now discusses the design of the direction in which sport should act as an instrument for peacebuilding.

As pointed out previously, the idea that building relationships and creating shared platforms of encounter stimulate peacebuilding processes can be explained by the contact hypothesis (Allport 1954). Four essential conditions must be fulfilled to guarantee effective intergroup contact: (1) Equal status of the groups involved, (2) ongoing personal interactions, (3) cooperation towards a mutual goal, and (4) institutional support (Maoz 2011: 116-117). This

Route 4 focuses particularly on common goals as a driving force for cooperation and as a fundament of the resulting relationship building.

Sport, defined as physical performance, contains a specific goal-oriented form of dealing and accessing the body. By nature, sport has a kind of goal-oriented approach. As shown in *chapter 8.1*, it provides an environment of common interests, shared goals and mutually exercised activities. This environment is essential for the development of a culture of peace within the process of reconciliation, which is based on fostering commonalities and common goals. In contrast, *chapter 8.2* has highlighted the negative side of chasing performances, namely those actions and negative values triggered by individualist behavior, the pressure of performance and uncompromising thinking to achieve the defined goals (Wilson 2012). So, what kind of goals should be chased? Respectively how should goals in sport be formulated in order that they can have a positive impact on a peacebuilding process?

The literature (e.g. Locke/Latham 1990) defines «goals» mostly in terms of performance standards that should be achieved. Several scholars (e.g. Dweck 1986, Dweck/Leggett 1988) have put forward that individuals have a goal orientation that they define as individual goal preferences in specific performance situations. As a result, two major goal orientations can be identified: (1) A learning goal orientation, and (2) a performance goal orientation. The former seeks to develop competences by acquiring new skills and handling new circumstances. The latter seeks to present and validate one's competence by seeking favorable judgements and avoiding negative ones.

In general, goal orientation creates a mental framework in which individuals interpret and respond to particular situations. Taking effort as an exemplary framework, goal orientation influences individual performance. On the one hand, a learning goal orientation views effort as an instrument to develop the ability needed for the mastery of future tasks. On the other hand, with a performance goal orientation, ability is unlikely to be associated with an increase in future mastery. Effort is instead viewed as a burden of one's low ability, since a person with high-abilities would not have to invest so much effort. Furthermore, goal orientation influences how individuals respond to a difficult task or to failure. By applying the learning goal orientation, individuals chase an adaptive response pattern by increasing their effort and engaging themselves in solution-oriented self-instructions. Additionally, they enjoy the occurring challenges, as they perceive it as a task to achieve their personal development. Maladaptive response patterns occur when individuals pursue a performance goal orientation.

In this way, the withdrawal from the task decreases the interest in the task and makes negative ability attributions (Vandewalle 1997: 996-998).

A learning goal orientation that stimulates the process and development goals are therefore the perfect orientation with regard to sport as a peacebuilding tool. By focusing on development and progress and by taking challenges as part of a successful process, the right mindset towards a cooperating society is achieved. It is for this reason, that sport as a tool to promote peace must be designed as a goal-oriented tool with a focus on learning objectives. Only with this design can the positive values in sport be triggered and the negative values be kept in check. Coaches, supervisors and others involved in a specific peacebuilding project that uses sport as a peacebuilding tool must orient themselves in this direction in order that the peacebuilding process can be pushed forward.

9.5 ROUTE 5: CROSSCUTTING IDENTITY

With *Route 4's approach* towards sustainable peace, the peace and sport process entered a sphere where sport was to be designed as a peace promoting tool by emphasizing a goal-oriented approach. In order to be a useful tool within the process of peacebuilding, sport must be applied as a goal-oriented tool with a focus on learning objectives. This common orientation emphasizes commonalities and contributes to a shared identity in the field of sport, regardless of one's own ethnic identity. *Route 5* therefore focuses now on an additional significant component of peacebuilding – the design of crosscutting identities.

As pointed out in *chapter 5.1.1*, ethnic identity means to belong to a specific group, which is in most cases based on ancestry. The common ancestry and the myths around these commonalities are linked to a common history, language, culture and religion, only to name a few (Chandra 2006, Fearon/Laitin 2000, Smith 1996). Ethnic conflicts always include identity conflicts that result in a cleavage between «*We*» and «*They*».

Former hostile groups must be rehumanized after a conflict. Therefore, any process of reconciliation must inevitably include a process of rehumanization, which further includes increasing flexibility in their understanding of identity. The transformation from detached and divided identities towards a shared identity is one of the key elements for successful peacebuilding. To build shared identities and to build a sense of common humanity are the main goals in achieving crosscutting groups that will foster the process of reconciliation by breaking down the psychological walls that maintain ethnic conflicts (Schirch 2001: 152-155, Gawerc

2006: 447). But how does sport contribute to the development of crosscutting identities between former enemies? Respectively how does sport need to be designed to maintain these potential crosscutting identities?

Shared identities are basically another type of collective identities that describe imagined communities that involve an act of construction, perception as well as the discovery of common interests and existing bonds. Shared identity must therefore be understood as a fluent and relational process arising from social interactions (Poletta/Jasper 2001: 298). Public spaces and open access to sports activities trigger mechanisms of action that contribute to the growth and strengthening of a rising shared identity. On the one hand, regular encounters and sporting activities foster social interactions. In addition, by exercising sport on a regular basis people become active participants and part of an evolving community. Being a sportsman or a sportswoman is the starting point of a new shared identity, which is even stronger when it comes to a shared goal-orientation within the field of sport. Through engagement in a neutral sport setting, members of a divided society can discover commonalities and are therefore able to rehumanize their visions about each other. Under these circumstances, sporting activities can contribute to building sustainable long-term commitments and relationships within a period of development, challenge and uncertainty (Stura/Johnston 2017: 11-12).

Nevertheless, shared identities can only flourish and be strengthened through sport if commonalities are promoted and inequalities, hierarchical relationships as well as stereotyping are restricted or completely avoided. Sport must therefore be organized in such a way as to promote cooperation to achieve common goals and the pursuit of personal development and further advancement (*learning growth*). The informal organization of sport, the promotion of «*healthy*» competition as well as the focus on common goals are the core elements of a sporting interventions. As has been pointed out earlier, competitive situations are always associated with risks, especially when it comes to winning or losing (Tännsjö 2000). It is therefore of particular relevance, depending on the type of sport, to ensure that the team composition is not drawn along conflict lines, but rather promotes a mixture. Victories or defeats, as well as the competitive element, are thus experienced within crosscutting identities. Coaches and supervisors as described in *Route 3* are therefore responsible to direct the activities in such a way that the breeding ground for a common identity can be sown. In such as setting, sport is able to form crosscutting identities that are fundamental to strengthen the process of reconciliation and to move towards sustainable positive peace.

9.6 ROUTE 6: SOCIAL CAPITAL

Throughout linking sport and peacebuilding, it has been possible to identify the prerequisites for using sport as a tool to promote peace. Furthermore, the adequate goal-orientation and the design regarding crosscutting identities have been explained and additionally detected to be implemented within the peacebuilding process in order to achieve the desired objectives. This *Route 6* deals with an in-depth level regarding the peacebuilding process where it is important to highlight interpersonal relationships that need to be developed within the so far elaborated general framework in order that positive peace can have a real chance. The creation of social capital as the starting point of a peaceful multiethnic society is the key towards sustainable peace.

Based on Putnam (2000), the building of social capital consists of three main components to establish relationships, namely trust, shared social norms and values among the members of a multiethnic society. The first component – *bonding social capital* – refers to intragroup relations among homogenous groups of people. Key examples for this kind of social capital are connections within families and one's ethnic group. The second component – *bridging social capital* – is related to an extended version of relationship building as it is applied to a wider circle (bridging between communities) and can therefore be defined as a bridging component of social capital. The «*bridging*» process stands for a proactive effort to extend networks to external circles. Various policy makers, governments and communities have begun to look for new approaches to generating social capital (Coalter 2007, Cote/Healy 2001, Schulenkorf 2009: 28-29). As it will be deduced in the previous section, sport as a bridge-building activity can be used as a new approach to creating social capital.

As part of the bottom-up peacebuilding strategy, sport can be used as an instrument to actively involve the community and to (re-)establish new relationships and networks that finally add to the stock of social capital. However, it is particularly important that the approach of bridging social capital is applied while sport is used as a peace promoting tool. Only through the bridging approach can crosscutting ethnic relationships between former enemies grow. The biggest challenge in creating bridging social capital is the building of relationships between various types of groups and peoples. At the beginning of a peace process, ethnically divided societies close their communities to outsiders and inhibit the development of bridging social capital. Naturally, bonding social capital strengthens in the first step relationships of people within a homogeneous group. In a further step, peacebuilding through sport interventions must be

organized in such a way that the communities are interrelated and build a common bridging social capital (Schulenkorf 2009: 27-31).

The successful creation of social capital is therefore closely linked to the previous routes regarding the right window of opportunity, the provision of public spaces and the requirement that everybody should be able to participate in sporting activities. Shared sporting activities, shared time and shared values increase and strengthen social capital within a multiethnic society and therefore contribute to the building of sustainable peace. Sporting interventions that create encounters and bring together antagonistic groups provide crosscutting identities at the grassroots level. The creation of bridging social capital by applying sporting initiatives is one of the most important outcomes regarding sustainable peace at a grassroots level (Norman 2005: 38-40).

In this context, Schulenkorf and Sugden (2011) point out that sports initiatives that have external actors as initiators and supporters should only have initial control over a given project. In the course of the project, control and guidance should be transferred to the communities in order to strengthen the bottom-up strategy and build social capital sustainably.

9.7 THE RIGHT ROUTE TO TAKE

Routes 1 to 6 need to be pursued towards sustainable peace. With this theoretical derivation and the linkage of the various theoretical concepts, it could be shown that several conditions have to be fulfilled in order for sport to be considered as an instrument for promoting peace at all.

- *Route 1:* Using the right timing and chronological sequence
- *Route 2:* Ensuring accessible locations with sport infrastructures
- *Route 3:* Guaranteeing participation opportunities
- *Route 4:* Working towards a certain mindset and orientation
- *Route 5:* Creating a sense of belonging
- *Route 6:* Working on relationships

In addition to these conditions, the potential risks hidden in the field of sport must also be taken into consideration. Keeping these risks in check or rather containing these potential lines of conflict, define the guidelines for the design and content of the single routes.

In the following chapter, the *Routes 1 to 6* will be embedded in a model. In addition, the individual routes are examined in more detail, whereby the potential mechanisms of action are described. The resulting impact model represents the basis of the newly developed theoretical framework and is the starting point for the further empirical investigation in *part IV*.

10 A NEW FRAMEWORK AS A POINT OF REFERENCE

This section aims to build a new theory of sport and its potential to provide a tool to promote peace. So far, the single theoretical components, the link between the two main concepts – sport and peace – as well as the central premises (*Route 1-6*) for sustainable peace have been prepared. This detailed reconditioning was particularly relevant for the imminent theory building. Based on the review of prior theoretical knowledge, an extended and modified framework can be built.

By linking the concept of peacebuilding with the concept of sport, intersections and lines of conflicts could be detected and implemented in the single routes towards sustainable peace. These routes represent key assumptions deduced from the examination of the relationship between the peacebuilding process and the concept of sport.

According to Colquitt and Zapata-Phelan (2007), there are different levels of theory building. This dissertation aims to reach the two highest levels of theory building by examining a previously unexplored relationship or process and by introducing a partially new construct in the field of sport and peacebuilding. In the first step, the single key components used for the new theoretical framework will be outlined and explained in greater detail (cf. *chapter 10.1*). In a second step, the single components will be brought together and will be embedded into a single process model (cf. *chapter 10.2*). The new model will be a hypothesis-generating tool. Therefore, the hypotheses will be formulated in a final step (cf. *chapter 10.3*).

10.1 KEY ELEMENTS

The single key elements concerning the theory building are based on the outlined routes (cf. *chapter 9*). The defined routes were described as central premises that should be included in the theoretical framework. These premises must now be converted into single applicable modules. As a consequence, all these modules can be used to design a peacebuilding process with the means of sport as a tool to promote peace. The transformations (→) look as follows:

- *Route 1: Window of opportunity → Module 1: Entry threshold*
- *Route 2: Public space → Module 2: Infrastructure*
- *Route 3: Access to sport → Module 3: Organization*
- *Route 4: Goal-oriented design of sport → Module 4: Curriculum*
- *Route 5: Crosscutting identity → Module 5: Objective and Purpose*
- *Route 6: Social capital → Module 6: Impact*

Route 1 will be transformed into a general module explaining the entry threshold for the use of sport as a peacebuilding tool. *Route 2* will be converted into the module infrastructure. This module outlines the infrastructures and human resources needed to stimulate the process of social reconciliation through sport. Everything related to the organization of sporting activities is the result of the transformation of *Route 3*. The design and the contents of these activities are described in the module curriculum, which is included in *Route 4*. The last two modules comply with the objectives and impact of using sport as a peace promoting tool. Crosscutting identities (*Route 5*) can therefore be placed on the same level as the objective and purpose of peace promotion through sport. In this context, building relationships in the form of social capital (*Route 6*) symbolizes the expected impact in the field of sport and peacebuilding.

In order to gear the single modules towards the greater idea of sustainable peace, all potential risks and lines of conflict must be taken into account while developing the specific modules. The design and the content of the single modules therefore have the task to keep the risks under control and to avoid an eruption of potential conflicts. In the following subsections, the procedural mechanisms and the contents of the respective modules will be presented.

10.1.1 ENTRY THRESHOLD

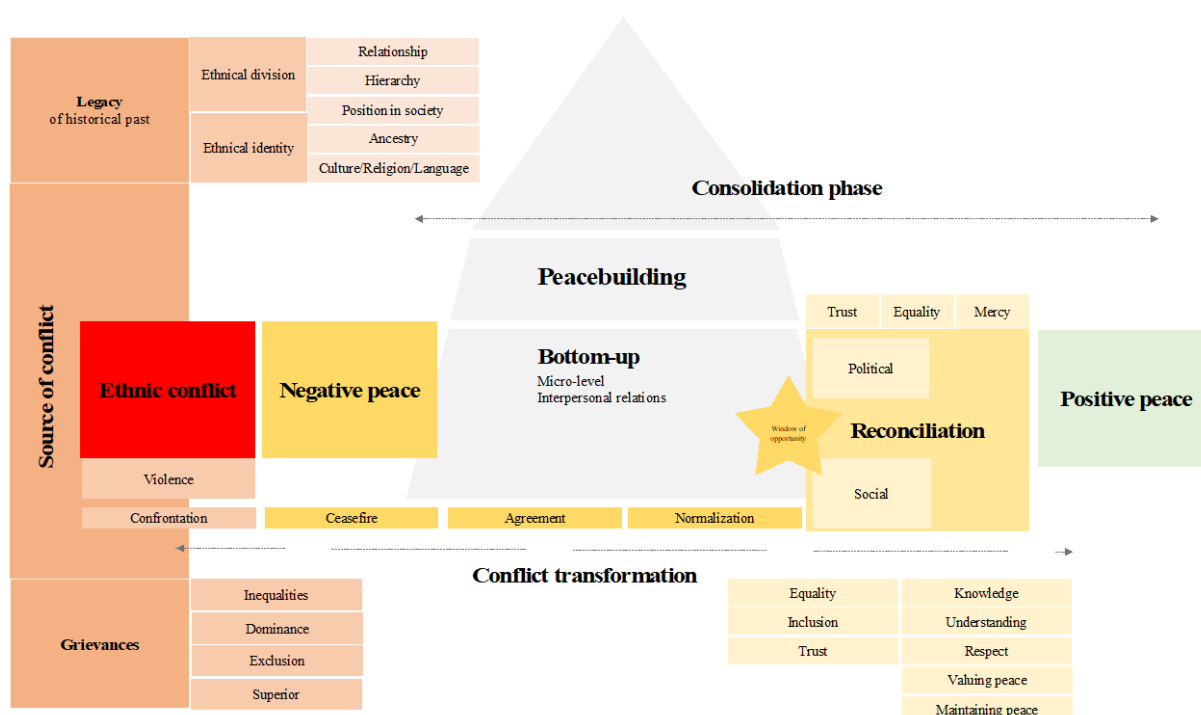
The first module includes the potential entry threshold that affects the initiation and further stimulation of a peacebuilding process. This entry threshold can be avoided by fulfilling certain requirements and complying with a specific protocol on the entry into the field of peacebuilding through sport.

Figure 9 illustrates the overview from the source of ethnic conflict, to the outbreak of ethnic conflict, to the post-war period (*negative peace*), to the bottom-up peacebuilding process, to social reconciliation and finally to positive peace. The yellow star represents the window of

opportunity to initiate a peacebuilding process through sport. It is visible that there is a huge and long process before sport can be used as a peacebuilding tool.

As already described in *Route 1*, the first entry threshold involves the understanding of the key factors that caused the outbreak of a specific ethnic conflict. Therefore, the first step is to understand the grievance mechanism that caused dominance, exclusion, inequality and suppression along ethnic lines and led to a civil war (Cederman et al. 2010). Only if the mechanisms that caused the ethnic conflict are understood, can the right measures, priorities and sequences for the upcoming peacebuilding process be chosen.

Figure 9: Ethnic conflict transformation and the window of opportunity



If sport is to be used as an effective instrument within the peacebuilding process, the right timing to use this peacebuilding tool becomes a crucial aspect. Of course, it is challenging to set priorities for peacebuilding activities when resources and capacities are limited and everything appears urgent. In order to ensure the right timing and sequencing of priorities, an act of balance and compromise within a coherent strategy is required. In particular, the ripeness of an intended intervention must be taken into account. An intervention that is activated too early after a conflict outbreak can sometimes undermine a peacebuilding process (United Nation Peacebuilding Support Office 2010). Peace enforcement, peacekeeping, peacemaking and the absence of direct personal violence (*negative peace*) are therefore mandatory preconditions to be fulfilled.

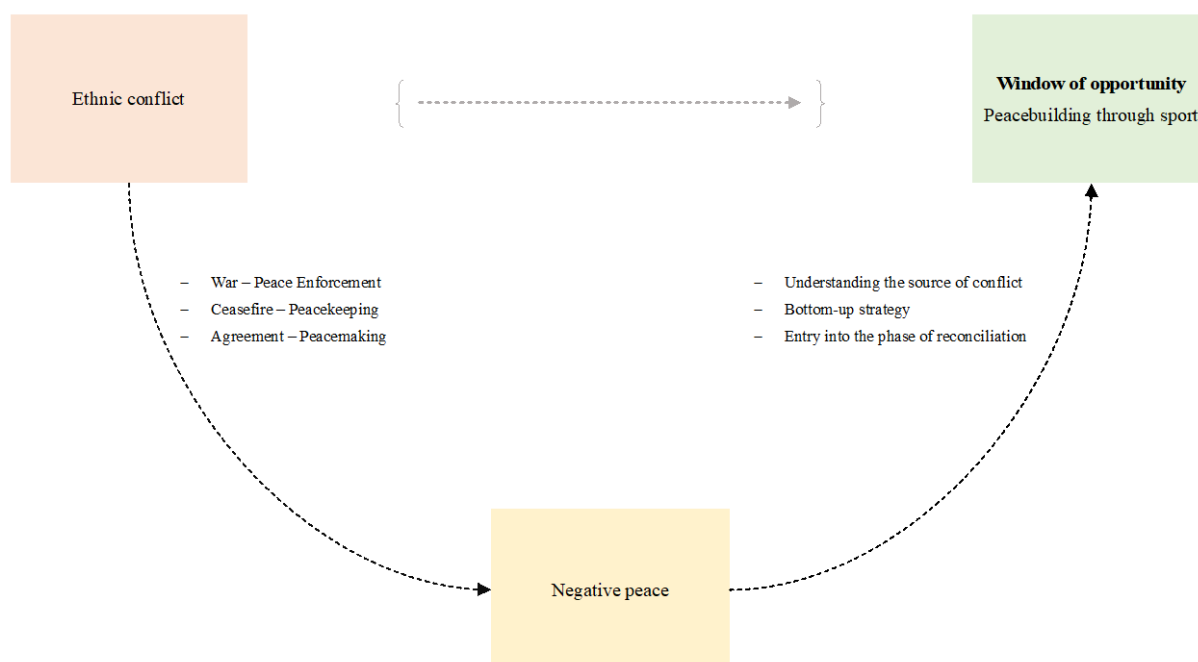
Based on the assumptions drawn out of the intersections between the requirements for social reconciliation and the contribution of sport to the process of peace (cf. *chapter 9.1*), the right timing to activate sport as a peace promoting tool is the period of social reconciliation (Hazan 2009). Therefore, a second requirement – besides the understanding of the sources which caused the ethnic conflict – refers to the right timing to enter the peacebuilding process.

Finally, the right strategy must be chosen to implement the desired peacebuilding tool. Previously it has already been pointed out that the bottom-up peacebuilding strategy seems to be the right strategy for the implementation of sporting activities as a tool to promote peace. This assumption can be empowered on the basis of three arguments.

- Social reconciliation is in need of a dialog driven bottom-up strategy, which seeks to promote interpersonal relations (Lederach 1997, Lefranc 2011). That is why the assumption can be made that the idea of social reconciliation and the bottom-up strategy are a perfect match.
- Sport is an important and integral part of society and is as well experienced within society (Seippel 2006). Because of that reason, it is important that the grassroots level support the sporting activities to be used as a means within the peacebuilding process. Insofar it can be assumed that sustainable peace through sport depends on a peacebuilding process initiated by the grassroots level in which the individuals become the exclusive agents of peace (Lefranc 2011).
- A bottom-up strategy focused on communication and relation is also an important component for the further modules. Bottom-up practices are based on the idea that the individuals are the motor for social change. This involvement and this effort stand in a reciprocal relationship with sports activities (Lederach 1997, Lefranc 2011).

Figure 10 illustrates the first module of the new theoretical framework by summarizing the mandatory steps to be respected.

Figure 10: Module Entry threshold



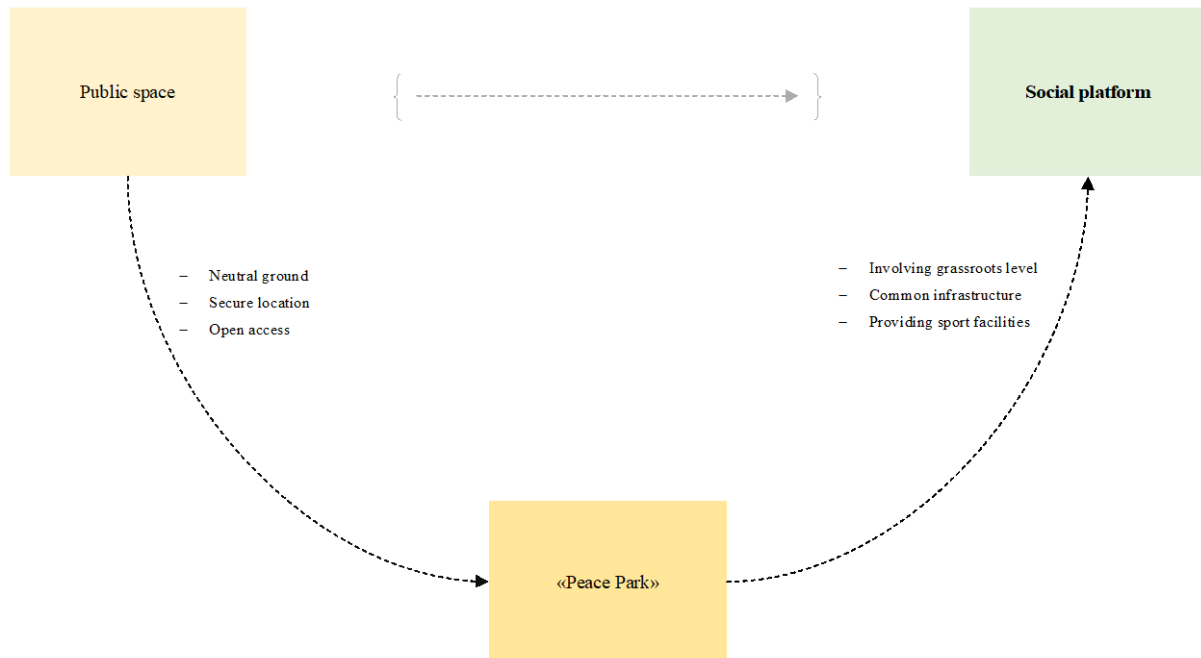
10.1.2 INFRASTRUCTURE

The importance of open access to sporting infrastructures as well as the necessity for a public space was already highlighted in *Route 2*. In order to boost a peacebuilding process by the means of sport and, in particular, to stimulate the peacebuilding phase of reconciliation, a common space, common meeting ground and a platform of social exchange must be established. However, the question arises as to how these needs and necessities can be put into practice in the «*real*» world. For the desired format to be successfully implemented, two concepts – the idea of a public space and the idea of infrastructures in which sport can be practiced – must be combined. The linkage of these two concepts corroborates the assumption that a particular zone must be built in the form of a so-called «*Peace Park*» for sporting activities. Such a peace park must fulfill three main features in order to differ from a common public space.

- The peace park constitutes a neutral zone.
- The peace park is a secured, respectively a protected zone.
- The peace park is a defined area that can be clearly identified as such and guarantees unrestricted access to the civilian population.

Counting on sport as an instrument of peace promotion, it becomes mandatory to make a decision on a zone that fulfills these outlined criteria – neutrality, security and access for all.

Figure 11: Module Infrastructure



In order for the peace park to become the desired platform for social exchange, further development steps must be respected. As already mentioned, a public space that becomes a peace park must be designed in such a way that people can and are allowed to engage in sport. A peace park must therefore provide infrastructures that can be labeled as common goods.

The following aspects have to be considered once the building of a peace park has started:

- Sports facilities with opportunities for mass participation.
- Sports facilities that respond to the needs or wishes of an existing community.
- Human resources that maintain and safeguard the peace park and furthermore provide guided activities to the people.

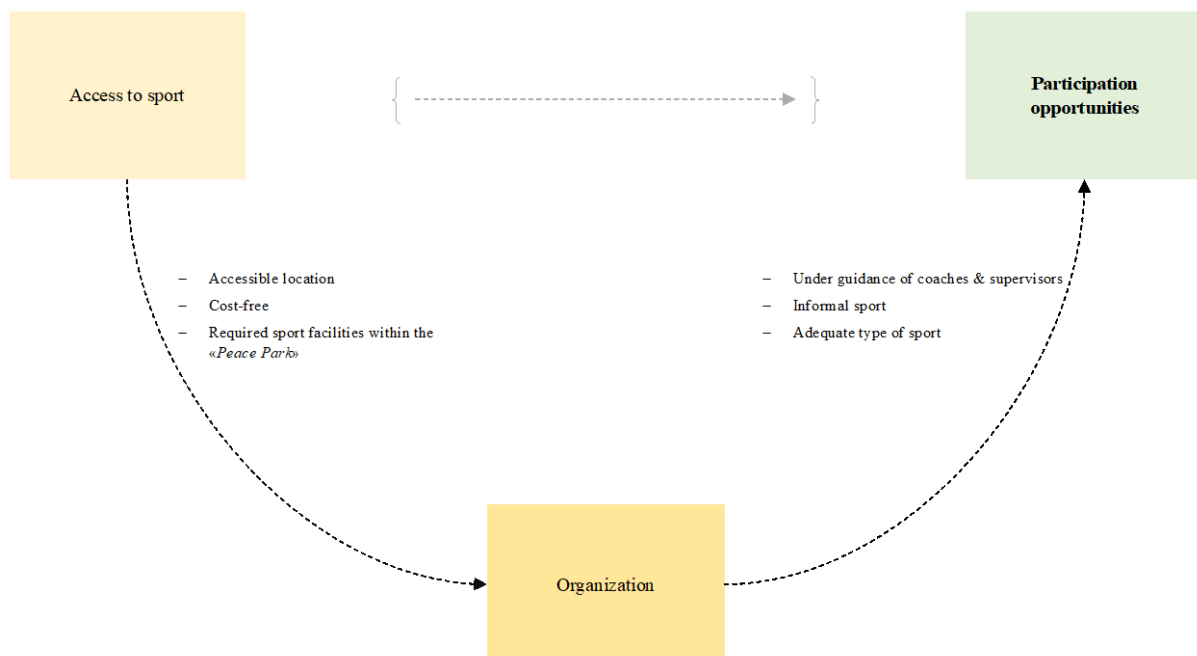
In order to ensure that sport facilities and human resources are provided, it is particularly relevant to involve the grassroots level of the different ethnic groups involved. The inclusion of local actors in an early stage increases the probability of the right design of sports facilities and sustainable use of the peace park. Regarding human resources, it is important that neutral and external people support the peace park and act as leading reconcilers and supervisors. These

leadership positions provide the park with a secure environment and a guided supporting program (Bam 2014, Edwards et al. 2015, Hubler 2012, Lederach 1997).

10.1.3 ORGANIZATION

With the module regarding the infrastructure (*peace park*) the fundament for peace-promoting measures by the means of sporting activities has been laid. In a further step, this fundament must now be provided with contents and an adequate organizational structure. This development step is of particular importance because it regulates the future access to sporting activities in the peace park and determines the respective participation opportunities.

Figure 12: Module Organization



Based on these findings, the following aspects must be taken into account regarding the development and organization of the peace park and the related sporting activities.

- The peace park must be geographically located in such a way that it is accessible to the relevant focus group within reasonable travel times.
- The peace park must be located in a zone where all ethnic groups feel safe and protected.
- The entrance to the peace park must not be subject to costs. Such entry costs would restrict access and would furthermore build a barrier that would not allow unrestricted access to sporting activities (Edwards et al. 2015).

- Finally, the park must provide an infrastructure that is compatible with the intended planning and that makes it possible to carry out the sporting activities.

As the previous chapters have repeatedly shown, sport can be administered in various forms of organization. With the first requirements regarding the organization, open access to sports activities can be guaranteed. With the following requirements, not only access to sport, but also the participation opportunities can be guaranteed. The following organizational aspects must therefore be respected.

(1) *Informal organization.* The informal organizational form, in contrast to the formal organizational form, should be favored. As has been shown so far, formal organization can cause problems of exclusion and non-affiliation, which in contrast can be avoided in most cases by applying an open, informal organization. In addition, a majority of the society will be practicing informal sports, which increases the likelihood of using the offer within the peace park (Heinemann 2007).

(2) *External guidance.* In order for the contents respectively sporting activities to respect certain guardrails, supervisors and coaches should be on site to guide through the initiated activities and act in the widest sense as reconcilers. Such guidance complies with a starting support for the further development of the newly established peace park and its contents. Through external supervision, unrestricted accesses and participation opportunities can be observed and preserved.

(3) *Adequate type of sport.* The last organizational matter concerns the right choice regarding the adequate type of sport. All sports have their advantages and disadvantages when it comes to promoting peace through sport. Nevertheless, it seems to be crucial for successful peacebuilding to stimulate games, cooperation and interaction. Although the game may cause an atmosphere of competition, the interaction takes place within a framework of the common rules of the game. As general support, the following questions should be asked before deciding on the sporting activities to be offered within the peace park:

- *Does the type of sport respond to an existing community need or want?*
- *Does the type of sport and the sporting activities associated with it stimulate social interactions?*
- *Does the type of sport foster cooperation and reciprocal development?*
- *Is the body constitution a limiting factor?*

- *Is religion a barrier to participate in a certain type of sport?*
- *Is culture a barrier to participate in a certain type of sport?*
- *Is gender a limiting factor to participate in a certain type of sport?*
- *Are the resources needed for the type of sport available and affordable?*

All these questions help to decide which types of sport are adequate in a particular context. It is therefore important that the decision on the different types of sport arise through a bottom-up movement, including the grassroots level of all ethnic groups, with the collaboration of external supervisors. Such a process can ensure that the chosen types of sport have a broad support within the society.

10.1.4 CURRICULUM

The space and infrastructure for sporting activities as well as the organizational form to be adhered to could be defined in the previous modules. This fourth module now determines how sporting programs should be designed and with which training and educational methods sporting activities should comply.

In order for sporting activities to be activated in newly established peace parks, they must be led by external experts (supervisors, coaches) in consultation with the single leaders/representatives of the ethnic groups involved. This external support is not only for the organizational structure as such, but also for the motivation of participants and the monitoring of intended activities. The external experts are thus entrusted with the important task of sporting education and the teaching of values. The curriculum of the coaches and supervisors should focus on the teaching of sporting activities in the sense of Olympic education (cf. *chapter 7.6*).

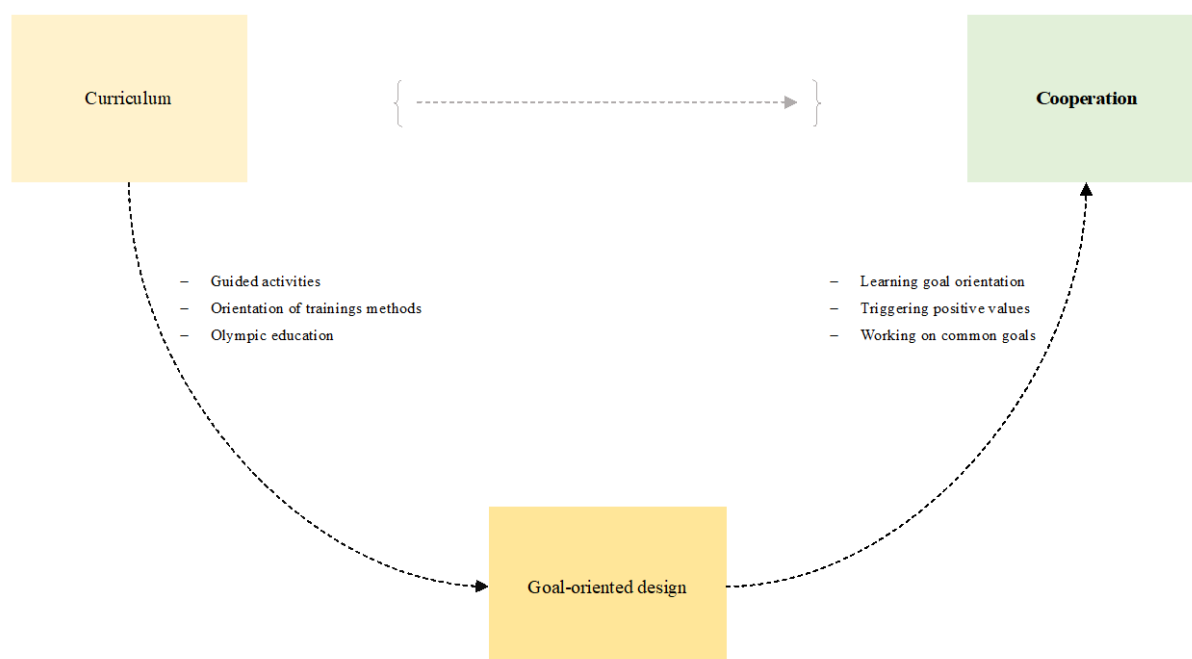
In essence, these principles of education include individual efforts to accomplish a sporting performance, as well as the development of social and moral behaviors such as fair play and mutual respect (Naul 2007). With regard to the Olympic education values mentioned – *performance, fairness and mutual respect* – the following learning objectives illustrated in Table 4 should be stimulated and promoted during sporting activities (Gessmann 2004: 146).

Table 4: Specified learning objectives for Olympic education according to Gessmann (2004:146)

PERFORMANCE	FAIRNESS	MUTUAL RESPECT
Enjoy learning	Respect rules	Acknowledge performances of others
Make efforts	Show consideration	Value your sporting fellows
Do one's best	Avoid conflicts	Respect diversity
Set and strive goals	Solve conflicts	Develop joy of cooperation

To sum it up, Figure 13 illustrates that, as a first step, external supervisors in the context of sport and peace initiatives should implement a curriculum based on a goal-oriented design. In a second step, the design steers working relationships towards a common goal and creates awareness for cooperation and a common development.

Figure 13: Module Curriculum

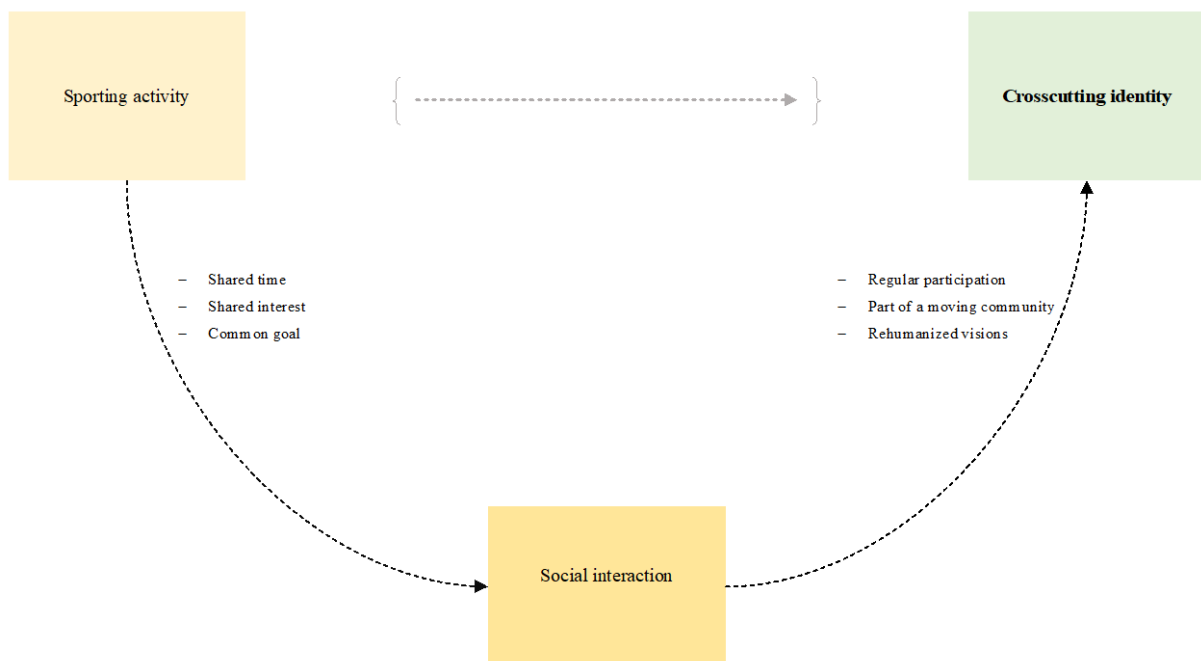


10.1.5 OBJECTIVE AND PURPOSE

This fifth module presents the main objective and purpose of a peace mission that uses sport as an intervening means during the peacebuilding process. *Route 5* has pointed out that the transformation of a society from individual identities to a common shared identity is a key element for successful peacebuilding (Schirch 2001, Gawerc 2006). This section illustrates the mechanism by which participation in sporting activities, which are offered within the scope of the established peace park, promotes social interactions and contributes to the development of crosscutting identities (cf. Figure 14).

On the way from sporting activities towards a shared identity, relationships must be built up and commonalities lived out. The factor of time, respectively the time spent together during a sporting activity, can be of particular significance. Furthermore, people who participate in sporting activities start to share a common interest and start to work towards the same goal. As shown in the previous modules, coaches and supervisors and the whole setting of the peace park aim to underline commonalities by sharing time, activities and by working on similar goals within the same framework. Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis strengthens the assumption made in this module, which implies that repeated meetings and ongoing personal interactions support and stimulate the building of relationships.

Figure 14: Module Objective and Purpose



Social interactions alone do not create crosscutting identities, but can be seen as a relational process that is the fundament for any further collective identity building (Poletta/Jasper 2001). There are three main aspects of social interaction within the field of sport that have to be fulfilled on the way to crosscutting identities.

- Sport must be practiced on a regular basis. Therefore, the peace park as an institution must work towards a certain «*customer loyalty*», which should bind citizens to exercise sport on a regular basis.
- Returning on a regular basis means to become an active participant and part of a crosscutting community.

- Through the regular contact and interaction with each other, members of different ethnic groups can discover commonalities and rehumanize their vision about each other.

Belonging to this crosscutting movement of sportsmen or sportswomen is the starting point of a shared identity, which is supported and strengthened by the *Module Curriculum*. Respecting these three approaches, sporting activities lead to sustainable long-term commitments and relationships (Stura/Johnston 2017).

The assumptions made in this part of the theory trigger further conditions, which belong to the *Module Organization* and must be fulfilled by the institution of the peace park itself.

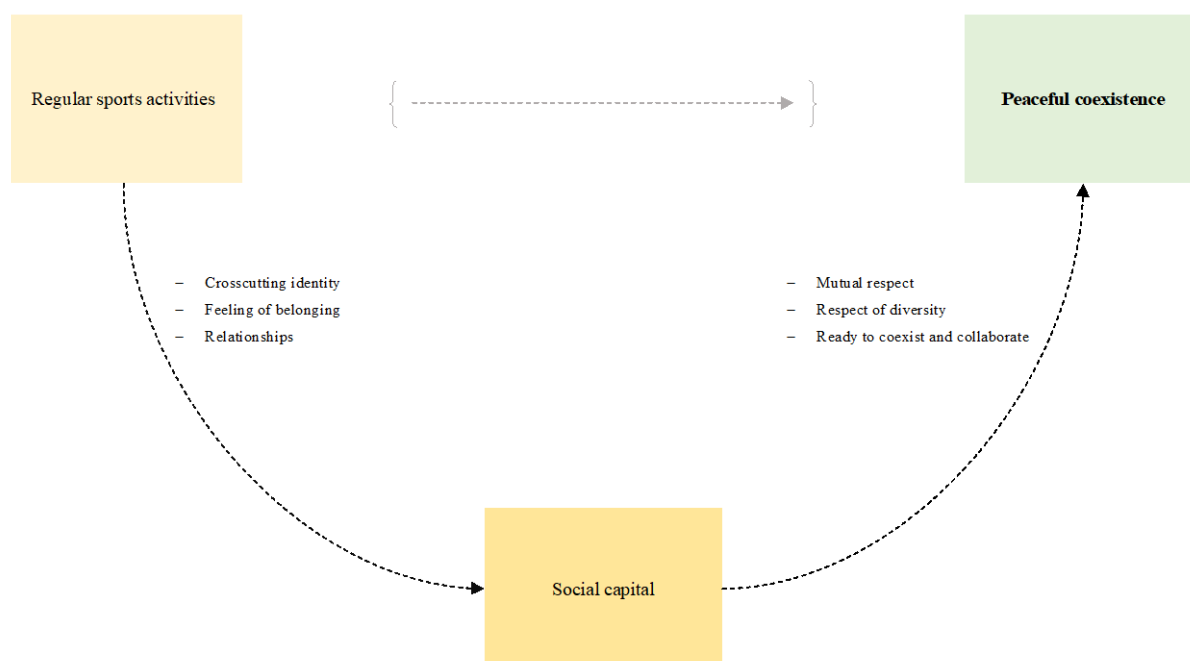
- Depending on the type of sport, supervisors and coaches must ensure, that training groups and team composition during exercising and matches consist of heterogeneous groups and are not drawn along former ethnic lines of conflict.
- By involving the various representatives of the ethnic groups on grassroots level, it must be ensured that the peace park will be visited and used by all ethnic groups and will not develop into a homogenous space for the major ethnic group.

10.1.6 IMPACT

The last module describes the expected impact by using sport as a tool to promote peace. It is assumed that regular participation in sporting activities offered by the peace park strengthens social interactions as well as newly (re-)established relationships and creates a feeling of belonging. All these mechanisms are necessary to build social capital among the members of a multiethnic society (Putnam 2000).

The integration of various people into sporting activities through the bottom-up peacebuilding strategy foster bridging social capital. The accumulation of bridging social capital at the grassroots level is the major outcome regarding sustainable peace (Norman 2005). Through the accumulation of social capital and by maintaining relationships, one can expect an environment of mutual respect and the development of respect in a diverse society. Furthermore, this process is expected to have a greater impact in the form of a peaceful coexistence amongst a formerly divided society (cf. Figure 15).

Figure 15: Module Impact



In conclusion, it can be said that by offering a public space, providing infrastructure and organizing and guiding through sporting activities, social capital can be built, which is the key element of peacebuilding.

All the individual modules presented in this section will be linked and embedded in a single model that will be illustrated in the following chapter.

10.2 MODEL BUILDING

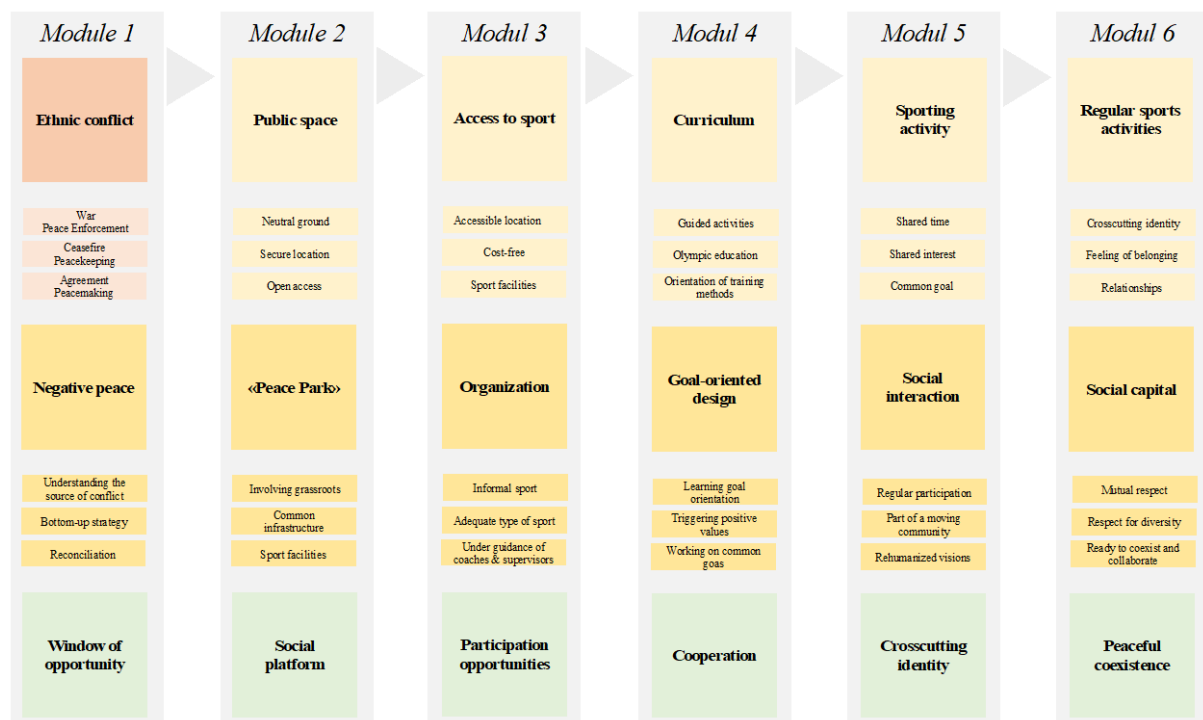
This chapter addresses the last step in the development of the new theory. The single modules illustrated and explained in the previous sections have now been embedded in a unifying model (cf. Figure 16), which is to be understood as a processual sequence of a peacebuilding process. Each module must be self-contained so that the peacebuilding process can move on to the next stage.

The *Window of Opportunity* is the starting point of the peacebuilding process. If the requirements from *Module 1* are fulfilled, the peacebuilding process can be initiated through the means of sport by entering the second step – *Module 2*.

As pointed out earlier, public space in the form of a peace park, which includes sport facilities, is the mandatory first step in the implementation of a peacebuilding process through sport. Sport can only be used as a practical tool if a secure, neutral and unrestricted accessible public space,

equipped with the necessary infrastructure, is provided. Within the peacebuilding framework the establishment and subsequent provision of a peace park are regarded as the fundament of conflict transformation and peace promotion. The development of a peace park creates a social platform that is of particular importance for the peacebuilding phase of reconciliation. This social platform must be stimulated by sporting activities. For this reason, the *third Module* must be activated.

Figure 16: Complete model – Sport as a bridge-building activity and a tool to promote peace



Module 3 includes access to sport and the guarantee of participation opportunities. Only if cost-free access to the peace park and its infrastructure is ensured can sporting activities be implemented as part of the peacebuilding program. With the right organization of informal sport in combination with adequate types of sport and guided activities, inclusiveness can be underlined, and participation opportunities ensured for all members of society. Once the stages regarding the provision of space and infrastructure have been established by the implementation of *Modules 2 and 3*, the subsequent *Module 4* must be activated in order to achieve the desired peacebuilding impact through sporting activities.

In *Module 4*, sport within the peace park must be guided in such a way as to trigger positive values that stimulate the reconciliation process. The teaching of values in accordance with the idea of Olympic education and with a goal-orientation towards an aimed learning progress is

therefore the teaching method to be applied. Only in this way can the idea of cooperation and common development take root.

At the time of determining the orientation of the teaching contents of the sporting activity, the aim is to offer and ensure such activities that are regularly used by all parts of society. An active use of the peace park increases the time spent together with the same goals being pursued.

The *fifth Module* aims to establish a new identity through regular social interactions. This new identity is to be understood as an overarching identity of ethnic groups, with sport as a common ground.

Finally, the last module can be implemented. *Module 6* is based on the previous modules. The aim is to deepen the newly established cooperation and identity and build up a network of relationships. However, this requires regular social exchange and sporting activities. In this way, relationships between the participants can be further deepened. At the same time, it is the only way to emphasize commonalities, reduce prejudices and make friends. *Module 6* is therefore the actual door opener for the expected impact – peaceful coexistence.

In order to make the process and the associated causal assumptions more tangible in practice, the peacebuilding process is additionally illustrated as an impact model in which the individual *Modules 2 to 5* are incorporated and to some extent rearranged. Such a theoretical impact model summarizes and visualizes the central assumptions about the function and mode of the operation of a peacebuilding intervention by using sport as a tool to promote peace. Primarily, the sequence logic is shown, whereby the causal assumptions are also emphasized (Hense 2012: 2). The best-known version of an impact model is based on the US Kellogg Foundation (2004). This approach distinguishes between five components:

- *Inputs*: Describe the necessary prerequisites to implement the intervention.
- *Activities*: Include concrete actions and strategies for operational work.
- *Outputs*: Describe the services provided within the scope of implementation.
- *Outcomes*: Describe the effects of the intervention at the target group level.
- *Impacts*: Describe the effects of the intervention on global objectives.

The model includes not only the individual components, but also the impact assumptions, which link the individual components together in the form of arrows. The compounds express that the

successive components are to be understood as preconditions for the respective following component. In summary, the following «if-then» sequence logic can be derived:

Figure 17: Process logic (cf. Kellogg Foundation 2004, Hense 2012)



If the necessary inputs for the intervention are available, the planned activities can be implemented. When the activities are implemented, the planned outputs are likely to be achieved. When these outputs are achieved, the defined short-term and medium-term outcomes should result. When these outcomes are achieved, a contribution to the formulated impacts can be expected (Hense 2012: 2-12).

Figure 18: Impact model with causal assumptions

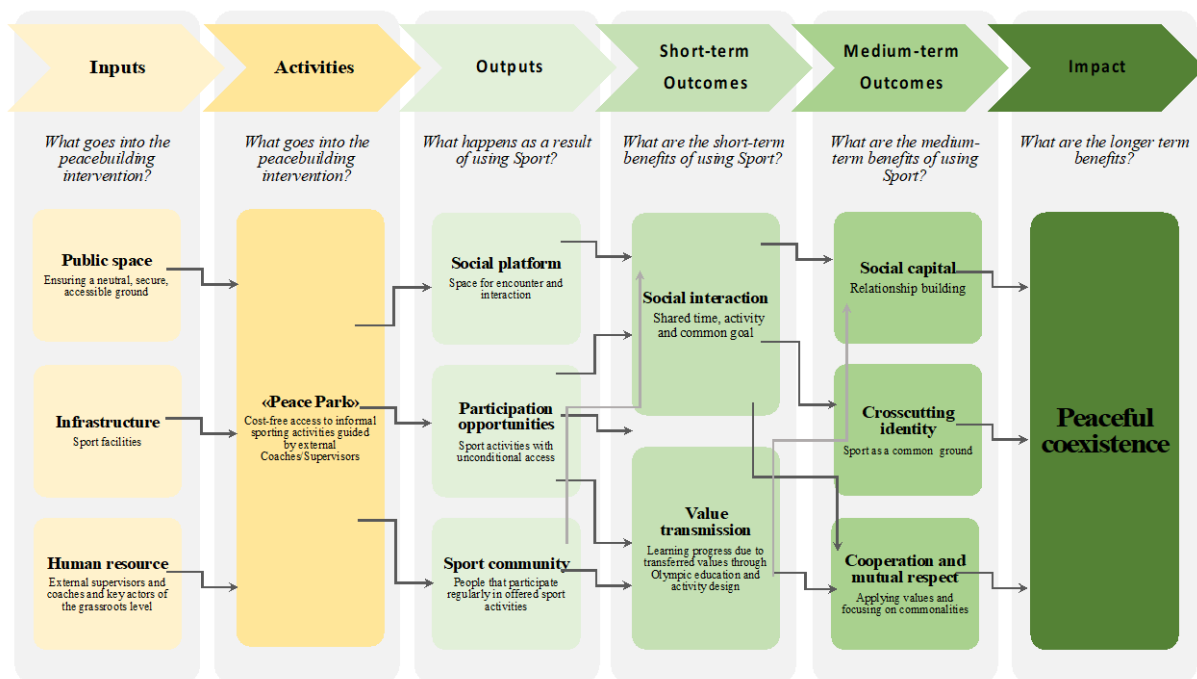


Figure 18 illustrates the impact model for a peacebuilding intervention using sport as a peace promoting tool. The framework model is based on the basic model of the Kellogg Foundation (Hense 2012: 8) and uses the same components – inputs, activities, outputs, outcomes (short-term and medium-term) and impacts. In order to clarify how the outputs lead to the short- and medium-term outcomes and how these affect the impacts, the impact model has been visualized to include assumptions about the impact path.

As we have detected earlier, the public space and infrastructure to carry out sport activities as well as human resources are among the necessary inputs needed to implement a peacebuilding intervention with the means of sport. If these resources are available, the planned activities can be implemented. These include the development of the peace park, cost-free access to informal sports programs guided by external supervisors and coaches as well as cost-free access to sports infrastructures. If these activities are implemented, the peace park can become a place to encounter and can provide a platform for social interaction. By offering a cost-free sports program, people have unrestricted access to guided sporting activities. By practicing together, sport communities arise. With these outcomes, there will be an increase in social interaction, learning of Olympic values and values of goal-orientation and cooperation. In addition, these short-term outcomes affect the medium-term outcomes by developing social capital, crosscutting identities and defusing fundamental values that underpin cooperation, mutual respect and respect for diversity. Once these outcomes have been achieved, a contribution can be made to peaceful coexistence.

The newly developed theoretical framework and the models associated with it are based on theoretical background and working assumptions that generate many possibilities for deriving hypotheses. Therefore, the next section will formulate hypotheses which will later be examined.

10.3 CAUSAL ASSUMPTIONS

The impact model (Figure 18) illustrates the expected outcomes and impact triggered by the establishment of a peace park for sport. The visualized impact-pathways represent impact assumptions between outputs, outcomes and the impact of the use of sport as a peacebuilding tool. The main assumptions will be spelled out in the form of five working hypotheses (H₁-H₅) within the following section.

H₁: A peace park for sport fosters social interactions.

Hypothesis 1 (H₁) is derived from the developed *Route 2 (Public Space)* and is furthermore based on the *Module Infrastructure*, where the peace park for sport provides different kinds of platforms for encounters. In essence, it refers to the concept of social reconciliation, where the first step towards civic trust and social capital is made by sharing the same public space and leisure activities, and by leaving boundaries behind.

H₂: Opportunities for participation in sport foster cooperation.

Hypothesis 2 (H₂) is based on *Route 3 (Open Access)* and on the *Module Organization*, which determines the respective participation opportunities. Furthermore, it corresponds as well with the *Module Curriculum* and the concept of practicing sport within a goal-oriented design (*Route 4*). Access to sport would allow one to follow sporting activities and to absorb the idea of working together towards a common goal.

H₃: Social interactions in sport develop social capital.

Hypothesis 3 (H₃) is derived from two main components. As a point of departure, it can be based on the chain of argumentation that sporting activities lead to shared time, shared interests and common goals (*Module Objective and Purpose*). Furthermore, it can be traced back to *Route 5 (Crosscutting Identity)*, where social interactions within the field of sport trigger a mechanism of action that contributes to the growth and the strengthening of a shared identity and the beginning of respectful relationships.

H₄: Sport communities foster crosscutting identities.

Hypothesis 4 (H₄) has its origins in *Route 5 (Crosscutting Identity)*. By exercising sport on a regular basis, people become active participants and part of a moving community. Being a part of this moving community is the starting point of a newly shared identity – overarching ethnic identities. Additionally, H₄ is based on the idea that a sports park for peace provides free access for all ethnic groups within a certain society.

H₅: A learning progress of Olympic values within sporting activities fosters mutual respect.

Finally, *hypothesis 5 (H₅)* is based on the theory of Olympism, where Olympic education symbolizes learning goals that highlight the value orientation via and through sport. The *Module Curriculum* as well as the *Module Objective and Purpose* refer to the idea that education during and through sporting activities develops crosscutting identities and an awareness for cooperation that furthermore stimulate the idea of mutual respect. As the aim of Olympic education is to promote and consolidate such social and moral behaviors, it is strongly linked to these modules. In short, regular participation in sporting activities, increase one's own interaction with the educational values. With regard to the assumptions made in the theoretical framework, these values underline commonalities and having respect for each other.

Since the theoretical model of sport as a tool to promote peace could be built and the impact model could be developed – both as a framework and as an impact model with detailed effects – the focus can now turn to the theory testing.

PART IV: THEORY TESTING

Based on the theoretical analysis and the in-depth literature review of different theoretical components (*part II*), a new theory and a new impact model could be developed (*part III*). This *part IV* deals with the theory testing, which should generate further knowledge regarding the newly developed theory and its impact model. In particular, testing the theory should underpin or refute the newly deduced causal assumptions.

The main goal of this part is therefore to gain additional knowledge, in order for the impact model to be adjusted and enhanced following the testing of the theory. Furthermore, the results of the theory testing should pave the way for a general plausibility check concerning the newly developed theoretical framework.

The following two topics will be discussed in the chapters below:

- Methodology (discussed in *chapter 11*)
- Finding and results (discussed in *chapter 12*)

11 METHODOLOGY

This chapter includes two connected methodical sections. Firstly, the methodological approach as part of the theory testing process will be discussed (cf. *chapter 11.1*). In the second step, the research methods will be outlined (cf. *chapter 11.2*). As a result of the concept of triangulation, two qualitative methods will be used to collect data. Furthermore, this chapter describes the data analysis process (cf. *chapter 11.3*) and discusses the limitations of data collection (cf. *chapter 11.4*).

11.1 METHODICAL APPROACH

As already mentioned above, the theory developed in *part III* is primarily based on the results obtained from a broad and in-depth literature analysis, which was already a part of the data collection. This first step concerning the data collection was part of a superior research paradigm – *the grounded theory* – to which the methodical approach described below can be allocated (cf. *chapter 3.2*).

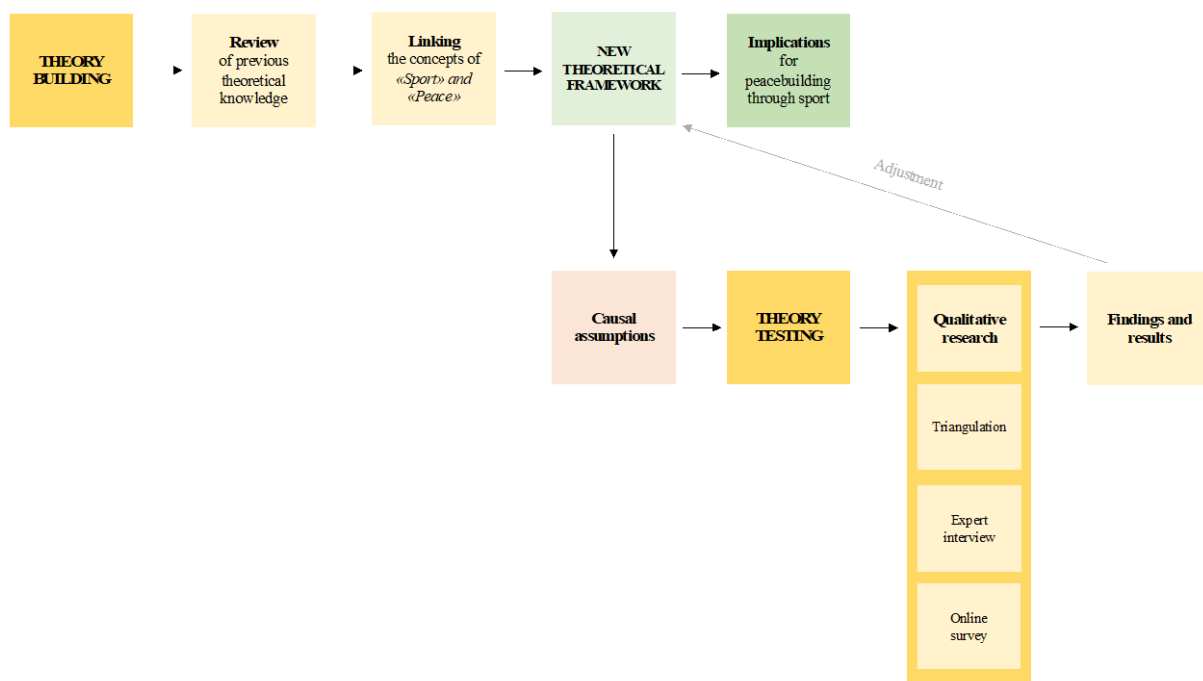
In order to test – as well as to adjust and underpin – the newly developed theoretical framework, a qualitative research approach will be applied within this thesis.

«Capturing and understanding diverse perspectives, observing and analyzing behaviors in context, looking for patterns in what human beings do and think – and examining the implications of those patterns – these are some of the basic contributions of qualitative inquiry.» (Patton 2015: 8)

As Patton (2015) describes, qualitative research methods contribute to knowledge about what works, what does not work, and why something works or does not work. Qualitative inquiry is especially valuable for producing a wealth of detailed information (Patton 2015: 8-22). The qualitative approach applied within this thesis, enables one to make an in-depth analysis of causal assumptions derived from the impact model. In this context, the qualitative methods are used in particular for the exploration of a hitherto little-known research subject. This exploratory phase serves to further develop and consolidate the established theory as well as to generate further causal assumptions and research hypotheses.

Figure 19 illustrates the overview regarding the methodical approach applied in this thesis, which includes the single steps to be taken to build, test and adjust the new theoretical framework.

Figure 19: Overview of the methodical approach



11.2 RESEARCH METHODS

The following chapters will describe the qualitative research methods, which have been applied to test the developed theoretical framework. Starting with the concept of triangulation, the single methods will be outlined in a second step. In addition, the implementation of the research methods will be explained in greater detail.

11.2.1 TRIANGULATION

In simple terms, the concept of triangulation can be understood as a means to observe a research object from (at least) two perspectives. These perspectives can be substantiated by applying different methods as well as combining the different angles together. Such a triangulation should allow for a fundamental increase in knowledge. For example, insights are gained at different levels that go further than it would be possible with a single methodical approach (Flick 2011: 11-12). In general, triangulation should give research results greater plausibility and credibility (Creswell et al. 2000). In addition, Droz (1997) pointed out that triangulation contributes to the validity of data and furthermore uncovers invisible characteristics of social reality in the field (Droz 1997: 43-44).

Within this thesis, triangulation takes place on two levels. Firstly, different data sources will be included. Secondly, different methods of collecting data will be applied. Therefore, the following combination to gather the necessary data will be implemented:

- Semi-structured in-depth interviews with selected experts
- Online survey with practitioners from the field

The two chosen methodological approaches are intended to serve the extension of knowledge regarding the newly established impact model. The semi-structured in-depth interviews should contribute to expert knowledge. Practical knowledge of program managers in the field is added by the online survey. Overall, the approaches chosen should produce complementary results that should provide a broad and comprehensive picture of the developed theory.

I consider this triangulation of methods and sources of data the most robust and suitable approach to answering the research question. Through the triangulation of different qualitative methods, different perspectives can be systematically combined, and different aspects of the examined object can be addressed (Flick 2011: 23).

An overview of the qualitative methods and their implementation now follows.

11.2.2 SEMI-STRUCTURED IN-DEPTH EXPERT INTERVIEWS

The first part of the data collection is based on a qualitative inquiry. Following Rossi et al. (2004), a semi-structured interview should be carried out in order to explain the literature-based impact model (Dössegger et al. 2017: 109).

By conducting guided interviews, opinions of various experts regarding the developed impact model and the associated causal assumptions can be inquired. With this approach, the scope of different perspectives regarding the topic of sport and peacebuilding can be taken into account. The qualitative interview makes it possible to identify subjective perspectives of actors, e.g. about past events, opinions or experiences. The peculiarity of qualitative questioning techniques lies in the fact that the course of conversation is less controlled and designed by the interviewer and more strongly by the interviewee, which makes deeper insights possible (Bortz/Döring 1995: 283).

Guided interviews are mainly used for explorative purposes. The guideline serves as a framework for the data collection and thus makes the results of different interviews comparable (Bortz/Döring 1995: 289). This explorative character also comes into play in this thesis.

For this research, key themes of the new developed theoretical framework designed the setup of the interview-guide (cf. Appendices: *Interview-guide*). Table 5 illustrates the thematic priorities of the interview-guide.

Table 5: Thematic priorities of the interview-guide

INTERVIEW-GUIDE: THEMATIC PRIORITIES
<ul style="list-style-type: none">– Linking «Sport» and «Peace»– Framework conditions for «Sport as an Instrument for Peacebuilding»– Proposals for alignment

The interview-guide can be divided into three thematic blocks. In the first part, specific questions concerning the linkage between the two concepts of sport and peace are discussed. In the second part, questions in connection with the newly developed theory are raised. In each case with reference to the modules developed in *chapter 10*. The final part was to ask the experts about possible suggestions for improving and/or adapting the new theory.

EXPERT SAMPLING

Random sampling is a dominant strategy in quantitative research. It describes a systematically selected representative sample from the larger population. On the contrary, in qualitative research, the primary strategy is the application of purposeful sampling, which chooses particularly informative cases (Patton 2015, Hoepfl 1997, Schulenkorf 2009: 84).

With regards to the sampling for the expert interviews, some considerations must be made in advance. Firstly, it has to be clarified who could be an information-rich resource for testing the theory. Secondly, it needs to be clarified with whom to talk to in order to better understand the phenomenon of sport and peacebuilding. Finally, it must be decided beforehand, who could confirm or complete the results gained in the previous chapters (Patton 2015).

As the main goal of purposive sampling is to focus specifically on those participants who are best qualified to provide a greater understanding of the phenomenon in question, this thesis utilizes purposive sampling as an adequate sampling approach (Denzin/Lincoln 2005, Neuman 2003). The application of a purposeful sampling strategy ought to ensure that various points of view and voices will be integrated, which will further contribute to a realistic and holistic picture. To glean knowledge from individuals that have particular expertise, this thesis focusses on an expert sampling, which is a type of the purposive sampling technique (Lund Research 2012, Schulenkorf 2009: 84).

The appropriate sample size for this qualitative survey is the one that adequately answers the research question (Mason 2012: 29). Following Paterson et al. (2001), who have identified principles that should determine the sample size of a qualitative research, the collected data should, on the one hand, permit a sufficient comparison among the selected experts and, on the other hand, be sufficient to answer the research question (Suri 2011: 73).

Table 6 gives an overview of the selected experts, including their function and which institution they represent as well as which were interviewed within the scope of the first part of the qualitative inquiry. The individual experts can be divided into three categories. The first group includes representatives of umbrella organizations. Therefore, the first category covers Adolf Ogi (former UNOSDP). The second group includes representatives of organizations, which are currently active in the field of the SDP sector. Within this category Dr. Fadi El Yamani (Right to Play), Nicolas Messner (IJF) and Marc Probst (SAD) were interviewed. The third group encompasses academic experts. Within this group, interviews with Professor John Sugden

(University of Brighton) and Dr. Nico Schulenkorf (University of Technology Sydney) were conducted.

Table 6: Sampling expert interviews

NAME	FUNCTION	INSTITUTION
El Yamani, Fadi	Global Training & Capacity Building Specialist	Right to Play
Messner, Nicolas	Head Director: Judo for Peace Commission	International Judo Federation (IJF)
Ogi, Adolf	Former Special Adviser on Sport for Development and Peace	UN: UNOSDP
Probst, Marc	Executive Director	Swiss Academy for Development (SAD)
Schulenkorf, Nico	Associated Professor of Sport Management	University of Technology, Sydney
Sugden, John	Professor Emeritus of Sociology of Sport	University of Brighton

IMPLEMENTATION

All expert interviews were conducted between April and December 2018. This long phase was necessary because it was incredibly difficult to find the right experts and finally coordinate with them an interview appointment for this research. Five out of six interviews were conducted via Skype or landline. One interview took place face-to-face during a personal meeting. Four of the six interviews took place in English, the other two in German respectively in Swiss German.

The semi-structured in-depth interviews lasted between 30 minutes and one hour. They were digitally recorded and then transcribed verbatim.

11.2.3 ONLINE SURVEY

In a second survey phase, practical knowledge, experiences and opinions of sport and peacebuilding practitioners were collected, which was achieved through an online survey (cf. Appendices: *Online Survey*) The questions were structured in four thematic blocks and consisted primarily of closed questions. Partially, quantitative survey questions have been used, completed with qualitative follow-up questions. Table 7 illustrates the thematic priorities of the online survey.

Table 7: Thematic priorities of the online survey

ONLINE SURVEY: THEMATIC PRIORITIES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Introduction – Linking «Sport» and «Peace» – General functioning of the program – Personal observations and experiences

In the first part, respondents had to provide individual information about their institution and their personal function within it. Furthermore, they had to state the main purpose that the organization pursues in the context of promoting peace through sport. In the second part, various items on the two concepts of sport and peace, as well as the linkage of those two concepts, were created. The questions and answers were primarily based on the findings of *chapter 8*. In the third part of the survey, knowledge about the general functioning of sports programs, which use sport as a tool of the peacebuilding process, were collected. Within these items, a bridge to developing the basic principles of the novel theory was struck. The last part of the survey included personal observations and experiences in the field, relating to the causal assumptions derived from the new theoretical framework.

EXAMINATION UNIT

The selection of individual cases is based on a selection of SDP institutions registered on the www.sportanddev.org website. On this website 570 entities that are involved in SDP grassroots practices are registered. Thereof, 98 organizations were identified to focus primarily on the work of peacebuilding through sport. Accordingly, all these cases form the examination unit, which is why 98 organizations were contacted and invited to carry out the full online survey.

The selection criteria of the individual cases to be examined, includes (1) organizations that use sport as a peacebuilding measure, (2) organizations that use sport to prevent conflicts and violence (3), organizations that try to build bridges within different ethnic groups, and (4) organizations that use sport to process and overcome the results of war.

Since the direct invitation and request for the online survey could not achieve the desired response rate, an additional attempt had to be made. In order to increase the response rate, the respective target groups were made aware of the ongoing online survey via the website www.sportanddev.org, which is entirely dedicated to the topic of sport, peace and development.

In the end, a total of 23 representatives of sport and peacebuilding organizations completed the online survey, representing a response rate of 23.5%.

11.3 ANALYZING THE DATA

According to numerous authors (Biddle et al. 2001, Taylor/Bogdan 1998, Hoepfl 1997), qualitative data analysis reflects a continuous process of discovery. Accordingly, a high degree of familiarity with the data as well as continuous examination and interpretation is required. Bogdan and Biklen (1982) have found the appropriate words to describe the process of qualitative data analysis.

«working with data, organizing it, breaking it into manageable units, synthesizing it, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is to be learned, and deciding what you will tell others.» (Bogdan/Biklen 1982: 145)

Qualitative researchers have a tendency to use inductive analysis of data, which means that the critical issues emerge from the data (Patton 2015). Qualitative analysis demands some creativeness because the challenge is to classify the raw data into logical, meaningful categories. Furthermore, the data must be examined holistically. It is also a special challenge to communicate the corresponding interpretation to others (Simon 2011, Schulenkorf 2009).

Accordingly, in this dissertation, all transcribed interviews and collected data from the expert interviews were subjected to a qualitative, comparative content analysis. In this case, the deductive approach was chosen to categorize the responses. The interview guideline provided part of the basic framework for the category scheme to be applied. In particular, common features of all interviewees as well as core sentences were extracted, but also different views were shown.

In addition, adequate and meaningful quotations from the experts were embedded in the text in order to underline certain aspects of the results with a convincing argument. The name and paragraph number of the respondent from whom the quote came were also noted. This process provides an *«audit trail»* back to the initial data source, helping to guarantee that the research is trustworthy, transparent and accurate (Schulenkorf 2009).

Complementary to the qualitative content analysis of the expert interviews, the results of the individual questions regarding the online survey were analyzed and summarized using descriptive statistics. Since the format of the answer categories were primarily based on the

method of closed questions, the respective answer options also formed the analysis structure, respectively the categories to be described.

In addition, the responses within open response categories were subject to content analysis. The central beneficial information could thus also be included in the results.

11.4 LIMITATIONS IN DATA COLLECTION

The triangulation and the combination of the two different data collection methods have helped to compensate for the individual weaknesses of each method. In practice, however, each method had some limitations, which will be explained transparently below (Hug 2016: 104).

The main challenge during the expert interviews was to get the respondents to the core of the question. Depending on the questions, there was excess information about personal experiences of one's own work in the field of sport and peacebuilding. However, care was taken to ensure that the core of the questions could have been answered as good and precise as possible in the course of the conversation. It should also be noted that an important player in peacebuilding through sport could not be reached. Even after several attempts to make contact and using various communication channels, the IOC refused to participate in an interview. This is unfortunate, especially in view of the fact that the IOC has now taken over the lead in the international engagement for sport and peacebuilding. Despite these limitations, the expert interviews have contributed to valuable insights. Sufficient data could also be collected to prevent exclusively subjective views.

With regard to the limitations of the online survey, it should be noted that the complexity of a peacebuilding intervention through sport is very difficult to measure by predominantly multiple-choice questions. However, the focus was on the check for plausibility regarding the developed theory and the developed impact model. Furthermore, it should be noted that the total number of respondents remained below expectations, which led to a rather low validity. Also, in this case, it was not possible after several efforts and reminders to reach a larger number of cases. The survey results are therefore primarily to be understood as a complementary data collection method to the expert interviews (Hug 2016: 105).

12 FINDINGS AND RESULTS

This chapter presents the results of the empirical investigations. First, the results of the expert interviews are presented (cf. *chapter 12.1*), followed by the results of the online survey (cf.

chapter 12.2). In order to answer the primary research question of this dissertation, the results are linked to the objectives of the research (cf. *chapter 3.1*) and to the causal assumptions worked out in *chapter 10.3*.

12.1 MAIN RESULTS EXPERT INTERVIEWS

The results of the expert interviews are structured in such a way that at the beginning the positive contribution of sport to peacebuilding is highlighted. At the same time, however, the reservations expressed will be also addressed. Furthermore, the downside articulated by the experts in connection with sport and peacebuilding will be made transparent. Within the framework of this first interpretation of the results, the relevance of Olympic education is also examined. In a further section, the results concerning the appropriate time frame for entering the peacebuilding process and approaches to peacebuilding that the experts consider to be necessary are presented. Furthermore, the results of the key elements of the newly developed theoretical framework will be presented. Accordingly, the results will be examined in the context of (1) the necessity of a public space, (2) ensuring access to sport, (3) adequate contents and activities, (4) the possibility of having multiple identities through sport, and (5) the driving force behind relationship building. Finally, the key factors in peacebuilding through sport are discussed.

12.1.1 POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION WITH RESERVATIONS

All experts agreed that sport can definitely make a contribution to peacebuilding. In the same breath, however, the experts pointed out that such a contribution must be treated with caution and should not be overestimated. According to the experts, it is clear that not all problems related to an existing conflict or a following conflict resolution can be solved through sport. Nevertheless, it has been argued that sport is an attractive medium for a large number of people. Accordingly, sport can be used as a relatively cheap, easy to sell, attractive medium in a peace process, especially for the younger generation.

According to the experts, sport can have a positive impact on a peacebuilding process in the following four areas. At the same time, however, limitations are also pointed out.

(1) *Relationships*. Intrapersonal activities between groups and individuals who are or have been in conflict are according to the experts very important in the context of a peacebuilding process, especially with regard to reconciliation. Sport might therefore be a very valuable means of bringing different groups together.

(2) *Education and value mediation.* In general, the basic tenor is that sport brings with it values, that are positive for the peace process. Nicolas Messner, for example, pointed out that all their activities are based on judo values and on the fact that judo was originally invented as an educational instrument before it became a sport. Judo accordingly carries the element of educating young people in its DNA. Furthermore, the experts pointed out that sport can promote abilities, life skills and functional skills. These promoted life skills can then also be associated with peace and used within the framework of the peace process.

The following quote by former UN-Special Adviser Adolf Ogi underlines the values that sport can convey and why the transmission of values can be regarded as an educational measure.

«Sport is the best school of life. In sport I learn to win without becoming arrogant ... in sport I learn to lose without the world coming to an end ... in sport I learn to respect my opponents ... in sport I learn to accept the referee's decisions ... in sport I learn to accept the rules ... in sport I learn to integrate myself ...» (Expert interview Adolf Ogi 2018: Par. 3 | Quote translated from German)

(3) *Communication.* Another positive element that is attested to sport by the experts is the power of communication and dialogue. It has been indicated, that sport can be used as a communication platform or as a space for dialogue. Messages can be spread – *«vital messages of peace» (Expert interview Fadi El Yamani 2018: Par. 5)* – which highlight commonalities and underpin the basic need for peaceful coexistence.

(4) *Two contribution levels.* The experts assumed that sport makes a positive contribution to the peace process both on the macro level and on the micro level. At the same time, however, clear differences were pointed out. While the macro level seems much more of a symbolic contribution, the micro level is the level where the actual implementation of programs with and by local communities takes place and makes the positive contribution more visible.

(5) *First Limitations.* Three points were highlighted by the experts as counterparts to the positive contributions. On the one hand, the example of the Olympic truce was discussed, and it was pointed out that as soon as the respective ceasefire was over, the fight would start all over again. This leads to the point where sport is considered to have only a temporary value as a suitable instrument for peace. Finally, the experts also agreed that sport is only a suitable instrument if the broader political environment and agenda would follow. Correspondingly, the use of sport is only part of a greater jigsaw that needs to be put together for a peace process.

12.1.2 DOWNSIDES

As already mentioned in the previous chapter, there is also a downside to the positive aspects of sport. The experts agreed in principle that sport does not function as a sure-fire success and would automatically lead to a positive outcome. On the contrary, for a positive contribution, the requirements must be set in such a way that they can benefit the people and the peace process. Which means sport must be managed accordingly.

The experts pointed out five risk factors, which will be explained in more detail below.

(1) *(Re-)intensified conflict*. The experts argued that the establishment and promotion of contacts between (formerly) hostile parties would always involve the danger that the conflict or rather mechanisms of the causes of the conflict could re-escalate. As a result, fear, hatred, intolerance, discrimination and injustice, as well as denial of crimes, could be fueled again and deepen existing divides. In this context, Dr. Nico Schulenkorf described the use of sport as an instrument of peacebuilding as a double-edged sword.

«You've got sport ... as almost a double-edged sword, where you have it in the means of building relationship networks to provide platforms for engagement in the idea of a neutral space. But of course ... you've got the other side, where sport brings out the worst in people.»
(Expert interview Nico Schulenkorf 2018: Par. 6)

(2) *Competitive and combative nature of sport*. Furthermore, in connection with risks, it has been pointed out that the conflict, or in other words the confrontation or competition, is an integral part of sport. According to expert opinions, sport has a competitive and combative nature. Accordingly, the critical position has been taken that if competition is part of the essence of sport, it is very difficult to see how it could be used successfully in peacebuilding.

(3) *Violence in sport*. A further point that is noted as a risk factor is the fact that violence is revealed in the context of sport and in particular in sporting events. In connection with outbreaks of violence, soccer was mentioned first and foremost because it is a very popular and beloved sport.

«It's [soccer] a very popular sport, because of its popularity, because of how much it means to communities and individuals, it can provoke violence among supporters. So while it has the potential to be used as a vehicle for peace, there are as many examples of bad behaviors in

soccer, as there are probably more than good behavior.» (Expert interview John Sugden 2018: Par. 28)

(4) *Negative associations.* Similarly, it was mentioned that scandals such as doping, abuse of power and corruption would not help to present sport as a credible instrument of peacebuilding. Although these scandals make up only a small part of the entire world of sport, they are very clearly visible as negative associations and are perceived accordingly by the population.

(5) *Sport as a nuisance.* Another important point that is hardly considered in the discourse on sport and peacebuilding is the fact that not everyone likes sport. People without a sporting background may find it very difficult to get excited about sport or may even consider it to be something annoying. Hence, it cannot simply be assumed that sport is everyone's business.

12.1.3 RELEVANCE OF OLYMPIC EDUCATION

When the experts were asked about the Olympic Games or the Olympic values in connection with sport and peacebuilding, ambivalent opinions were expressed. On the one hand, they are committed to the Olympic values and the resulting education. On the other hand, it is believed that the representatives of these values, the IOC, with its striving for gigantism and its own scandals, are degrading the value of the Olympic education.

With regard to the relevance of Olympic education in the context of sport and peacebuilding, the experts highlighted two main aspects. In addition, a general problem of value mediation is addressed in this context.

(1) *Theoretical foundation.* In principle, the Olympic values are widely accepted among the various experts and are perceived as good and important symbolism. These values can be used as a theoretical background to serve as a component of peacebuilding.

(2) *IOC's bad reputation.* According to the experts, it becomes more problematic when one looks at who represents these values. The IOC's current reputation is perceived as not very good. Furthermore, the constantly forced and hardly sustainable gigantism contradicts the actual values of the Olympic movement. From the perspective of the experts, it is therefore very difficult to credibly apply the Olympic values in the context of peacebuilding.

(3) *Appropriate restraint in value mediation.* Furthermore, it is pointed out that, in general, adequate restraint is appropriate with regard to the transfer of values. According to the experts,

it often happens that Western exponents are trying to sell Western values globally or even try to impose them.

12.1.4 A REASONABLE TIME TO ENTER THE PEACE PROCESS

When asked about the right timing to immerse oneself in the peace process with sport as an instrument of peacebuilding, one receives a wide range of answers. Nevertheless, it was possible to identify certain key aspects which are listed below.

(1) *Jigsaw*. The peacebuilding process is seen as an incredibly complicated process and as an actual jigsaw. According to interview statements, sport plays only a minor role in this complex system and is only a small fragment of a very complex process. In addition, it has been pointed out that the entry into the peacebuilding process cannot be detached from the specific context, because contextual dependencies are also central pieces of the jigsaw. Professor John Sugden was able to describe the metaphor of the puzzle particularly well.

«When you get a jigsaw, it comes in a box. And on the jigsaw box, there is a picture. And you use that picture, to help you to make the jigsaw work. Doing peacebuilding is like doing a jigsaw without a picture. Because the picture emerges in the process.» (Expert interview John Sugden 2018: Par. 16)

(2) *Prevailing conditions*. The experts agreed that certain conditions had to be fulfilled on the spot in order to intervene with sport as an instrument of peacebuilding. Among other things, a certain level of security, including a ceasefire, would be required. From the point of view of a practitioner, Nicolas Messner explained exactly what is not the right moment to initiate peace through sport intervention and thus underlines the argument that certain conditions must be preposessed.

«But of course, when people are fleeing, while they are on the run ... That is not the time to come with Judo-For-Peace or sports activities, because first they have to find shelter, they have to find food, they have to survive.» (Expert interview Nicolas Messner 2018: Par. 8)

(3) *«As soon as possible»*. The experts agreed that, ideally, sport as an instrument of peacebuilding should be launched as soon as possible. The only difference between the experts was their interpretation of *«as soon as possible»*. For some, sport should already open doors and thus contribute to the political agreement between the parties in the conflict. This would correspond to the instrument of sports diplomacy. Other experts understand the term as the

point in time when, in an ongoing conflict or in the post-conflict period, the possibility is opened up for bringing conflict parties together again.

(4) *Sustainability before adequate time of entry.* While trying to determine the ideal time of entry, it was also pointed out that the entry timing could actually be neglected. It would be much more important that the measures do not stop too early and are planned sustainably.

12.1.5 PEACEBUILDING APPROACHES TO BE CONSIDERED

With regard to relevant peacebuilding approaches, which should be considered as an instrument of intervention in connection with sport, the experts also positioned a broad range of approaches to be considered. The following four approaches must be kept in mind:

(1) *Multi-track approach.* On the basis of the interview statements, the support for a multi-track approach could be established. This approach combines the two classical approaches *bottom-up* and *top-down* and uses the strengths of both approaches, which according to experts seems to be the most profitable. On the one hand, the bottom-up approach is intended to strengthen the peacebuilding process, because peace is literally created on the playground. On the other hand, the local and national authorities must also be taken into account, because without government and good institutions it will be difficult to achieve sustainable peace. Accordingly, the top-down approach is also a central element of peacebuilding. Thus, it can be said that if it is a multi-layered construct of peacebuilding, all layers are of central importance.

(2) *Integration of local actors.* In line with the multi-track approach, all experts stressed the need to work with local actors and to integrate them into the respective processes. It would be in particular essential to work together with local actors to understand the context and gain a deeper insight into local culture and politics. In a joint effort with the conflict parties involved, approaches should then be developed so that sport could be used as beneficially as possible within the framework of the peace process.

(3) *External support.* Moreover, the experts agreed that a targeted peace process should strengthen those affected, and that sport as an instrument of peacebuilding should be tailored to the needs of those affected. Taking these aspects into account, it might be advantageous in an initial phase to implement such measures under external guidance. One of the reasons for this argument is the fact that the experts assumed that an independent external organization could play a key role in bringing both sides of the conflict on board. In particular, the external organization should establish contacts and build bridges between conflict parties. The day-to-

day management of the program details should be left to the local actors, also for the sake of sustainability and accountability.

(4) *Accompanying measures.* What has already been explained by the experts with regard to the right timing to enter the peace process, is the fact that sport as an instrument of peacebuilding is only a part of a larger jigsaw and that further accompanying measures must be planned accordingly within the framework of peacebuilding intervention. It was explicitly pointed out that sport alone as a game, could hardly produce the desired results if it were not accompanied by a methodology that disseminated the values of sport. Accordingly, a set of activities should be planned which would combine sport as a game, but also the transmission of values associated with sport.

12.1.6 THE NECESSITY OF A PUBLIC SPACE

The experts agreed to the fact that access to sport could be guaranteed where there would be no obstacles. Accordingly, they pleaded for a public space that would offer the opportunity to bring people together and furthermore be used as a platform for social exchange. The following three aspects were mentioned by the experts in relation to the necessity of public spaces.

(1) *Neutrality.* The necessity of a common space or a public space arises, according to the experts, because a space that is considered neutral by all parties to the conflict is needed. Neutrality is therefore a central element and a necessary requirement so that both sides of the conflict feel happy to practice sport together.

(2) *Extended space outside the sports area.* At the same time, however, it was critically argued that a public space as such cannot be so important for sport and the peace process itself. Of much more importance seems to be the expanded space for encounters and the opportunity to engage and meet with one another outside of the sporting context. In summary, it can be said that a public neutral space is perceived as important, but should not be limited to a sports infrastructure if possible.

(3) *Infrastructure – nice to have, but overrated.* An even more critical voice pointed out that when sport is used as a peacebuilding method, it is not immediately necessary to think of sports infrastructures and public spaces. In the context of peacebuilding, the infrastructure that would be needed for sport in the traditional understanding of sport often does not exist or is not realizable. In this respect, the aspect of providing public space is overestimated, as it is simply not possible to get a conventional infrastructure.

12.1.7 ENSURING ACCESS TO SPORT

The question which concerns ensuring access to sport was answered closely with the question concerning the necessity of a public space. Among other things, this can be explained by the fact that a public space per se would make access much easier. Nevertheless, it was possible to identify three specific aspects which, according to the experts, must be taken into account while ensuring access to sport.

(1) *Cooperation with local partners.* According to the experts, the actual recipe for securing access to sport would lie in close cooperation with local partners. Only through the support of different communities and their representatives can it be ensured that access is facilitated and that the target groups can be reached. The following quote shows how many questions can be raised regarding the access to sport and that it is equally important to have these questions answered by and/or with local partners.

«Is it okay to have girls play together, is it... How do we deal with... people with disabilities, for example? What can we offer, is there already something in place? Is there support? How is access provided? I don't know ... is there some other partnership that you can arrange to support people with difficulties with access? So, I think, I would leave that very much to the local organizers in finding the right approach to accessibility.» (Expert interview Nico Schulenkorf 2018: Par. 24)

(2) *Involving different players.* The experts moreover argued that all conflict parties should be involved in ensuring access to sport. In this context, neutrality was also emphasized, as it was already the case with the aspect of public space. In addition to involving all parties of the conflict, the experts considered that attention should also be paid to ensure that the decisive actors are all included. As an example, it was pointed out that it is very important for the participation of women that men should be included in the decision-making process or, if working with children, to include parents. Accordingly, action must be taken at several levels to ensure that participation can be guaranteed.

(3) *Proximity to the communities.* According to the experts, access to sport could be further facilitated by finding a place from which all communities are not far away. This would make it possible for everyone to come to the same place and practice together. The geographical proximity is therefore equally decisive.

12.1.8 ADEQUATE CONTENTS AND ACTIVITIES

The experts pointed out that the question of the right content and activities is also extremely dependent on the context. The content or the sporting activities of a peace project in *country A* are not necessarily useful in *country B*. Accordingly, this has to be differentiated from case to case, where the inclusion of local conditions and actors seems to be decisive. The following five points indicate what has to be taken into account when choosing activities and contents.

(1) *Caution when choosing a sport.* Content and activities also include the selection of the appropriate type of sport. In this context, the experts pointed out that caution in the selection process is appropriate. Caution, in the sense that it must be taken into account that the choice of sport does not exclude anyone. As an example, reference was made to a peacebuilding project in Ireland. Soccer was chosen as a sport, not because it was very popular with children in general, but because it was very popular in that area. In addition to this popularity, soccer was also not particularly associated to a nationalist tradition, as it would have been in the case of rugby, for example, which is very strongly linked to an English or Anglophone approach to sport. Soccer was chosen because no community claimed it as a symbol of their identity. This fact contributes accordingly to a neutral atmosphere.

(2) *Value-driven contents.* The relevance of value mediation has already been underlined in various contexts and shows how important this aspect is. The experts have also highlighted this relevance in connection with the design of the contents. This means that the contents must be designed in such a way that positive and peace-stimulating values are transmitted within the framework of sporting activities. Since sport as a game alone would be very difficult to produce the desired outcome of value mediation, experts are of the opinion that sporting activities must be accompanied by a methodology that spreads the values of sport. As an example, the education of coaches was mentioned who, on the one hand, perceive this spread of values within the framework of sporting measures, but, on the other hand, generally act as multipliers in their environment.

(3) *Life skills curriculum.* The experts referred to the development of life skills as a follow-up to the transmission of values. The content of sporting activities must leave room for topics such as conflict prevention and resolution techniques, tension management, tolerance and diversity. These topics are intended to strengthen and expand life skills.

«At the individual level, we work on a life skills curriculum to be developed and taught in schools, community structures and settings. We focus on conflict prevention and resolution techniques, management of tension, tolerance and diversity. We are doing work on training and mentoring of each of the teachers and coaches in schools and community administrations, and quality delivery of play based sport for development and peace and life skills curriculum.»
(Expert interview Fadi El Yamani 2018: Par. 33)

(4) *Teamwork.* In addition, team building and teamwork were perceived as a particular peacebuilding element. With this, the experts also explained the fact, why soccer dominates in most peacebuilding projects. Thus, teams can be formed in which the conflict parties never play against each other, but rather having them mixed up in teams for teamwork and engagement. However, the element of teamwork does not only manifest itself in team sports but is also present in individual sports such as judo. Nicolas Messner has explicitly pointed out that in judo it is necessary to work together in a team. Because if you do not help your partner in judo, you cannot move forward. Every single exercise in judo is based on working together and helping each other to develop and improve together.

«If you don't work with someone, if you don't have a partner, you cannot work, you cannot progress, you cannot become better.» (Expert interview Nicolas Messner 2018: Par. 4)

(5) *Sport and play instead of competition.* The experts also argued that the playful form of sport in peacebuilding seems to be more important than competitive sport. Accordingly, this must also be included in the conceptual design of sporting activities and be used as a primary instrument for local peace promotion.

12.1.9 MULTIPLE IDENTITIES

The experts reacted optimistically to the question of whether peacebuilding sports measures could be used to create crosscutting identities. Sport itself may develop as a neutral element. Accordingly, crosscutting identities are exactly what should be aimed for with such measures. The following three aspects related to identities can be derived from the expert interviews.

(1) *Multiple identities are possible.* It has been argued that sporting activities allow one to have multiple identities. These multiple hybrid identities often occur simultaneously. The different identities that may appear in the context of sport differ in their charisma, i.e. what is felt more strongly at a certain point in time. This is the case, for example, in a team where the team feeling takes over and at that moment the team becomes the primary identity. If this works well, if one

is really part of the team, then cultural or ethnic identity may suddenly only play a secondary role.

(2) *Sustainability may be difficult to predict.* Although crosscutting, independent identities are regarded as thoroughly realistic phenomena, it is pointed out, that it is uncertain how long such an identity could be sustained. According to the experts, the necessary knowledge bases are lacking at the present time.

(3) *Own identity remains dominant.* In addition to the fact that the sustainability of a crosscutting identity is difficult to predict, the experts also critically argued that one's own ethnic identity remains the central and dominant identity. The following two quotations underline this aspect.

«In my experience, however, the ethnic affiliations are stronger than the overarching identity. In the case of a repeated outbreak of conflict, I would not bet that the crosscutting identity would prevail.» (Expert interview Marc Probst 2018: Par. 31 | Quote translated from German)

«Yes, they will stay as Lebanese and Syrian and Palestinian. The Syrian refugees will still think about going back to their country, the Lebanese will still think as Lebanese and how they will develop, and the Palestinian refugees will still be dreaming about going back to their houses.» (Expert interview Fadi El Yamani 2018: Par. 31)

12.1.10 DRIVING FORCE BEHIND RELATIONSHIP BUILDING

The experts were also asked what influence sport can have on the building of relationships. In general, it has been argued that sport is a real supportive process based on human relationships. Within this framework, social support can be guaranteed and a common reconciliation process can be initiated. According to the experts, attention should be paid to the following three aspects regarding the building of relationships in the context of sporting activities.

(1) *Team building.* The experts proclaimed that the key factor for building relationships is team building. Among other things, it is emphasized that through the close cooperation in a team setting one feels that connected sensation of camaraderie which develops around the sport itself. This is due to the fact that one is not dealing only with single individuals, but moves in the midst of a collective unity in which there is a feeling of togetherness.

(2) *Regular exchange*. Although the general opinion among experts is that sport could make a strong contribution to relationship building, it should be noted that this is extremely dependent on the periodicity of such sporting activities and exchanges. If sport as an instrument of peacebuilding is to be designed in such a way as to promote the building of relationships through the program, this obviously implies that a regular and long-term exchange must take place.

(3) *Opportunity to reengage*. In line with the regularity proclaimed by the experts, it was further pointed out that the development of relationships also depends on the opportunity to reengage. Especially when it comes to the aspect of sustainable relationship building or the question of how positive relationships will last beyond a particular event, then a solution has to be found to establish opportunities for reconnection.

12.1.11 KEY FACTORS

Finally, the experts were asked to identify key factors that must be incorporated into a model or framework concept in the context of sport and peacebuilding. The focus of the individual experts were on very different aspects, which is why various general key factors are described below. As most aspects have already been discussed in some way in the previous sub-chapters, only the central points will be briefly summarized here.

(1) *Ripple Effect*. Professor Sugden is a strong supporter of the ripple effect, which is also used commonly as a multiplier. This effect explains how social interactions can affect situations that are not directly related to the initial interaction. In the context of sports-specific interventions, this effect should be triggered so that as many people as possible can be reached by the multipliers. Accordingly, such peacebuilding programs should be primarily focused on working with children (Sugden/Tomlinson 2018: 130).

(2) *Change agent*. As it has already been mentioned, the additional help from outside, i.e. external, seems to be of central importance especially in an initial phase of a project. Dr. Schulenkorf is even of the opinion that in 90% of cases, within the framework of peacebuilding projects, someone is needed who is external or impartial, at least in order to facilitate programs at the beginning of relationships. This external support can take the form of a change agent, and should be charged with managing and supporting the process. Change agents can play a role especially in the planning and implementation phase of community projects, as they can

facilitate contact and help to create a common platform for collaboration within and between communities (Schulenkorf 2009: 20).

(3) *Co-ownership of external and local actors.* As already shown, the experts proclaimed that an external organization or a change agent should accompany and support a peacebuilding intervention through sport. At the same time, however, the external help must not dictate or dominate the entire process, as otherwise the important local competence building will be lost. Accordingly, co-ownership of external and local actors should be pursued. In the course of the process, the external actors should step back step by step so that the local people can gain more responsibility and personal responsibility over time.

(4) *Long-term objectives.* Furthermore, from a management perspective, it was pointed out that sport interventions must be sustainable beyond the life of a financing cycle and must be long-term oriented. Especially when pursuing ambitious goals regarding reconciliation, it is necessary to align the whole contents of a sport intervention with the desired outcomes and to build and implement the whole process step by step.

(5) *Knowledge of the context and in particular of cultural backgrounds.* In several points it has already been pointed out that contextual understanding of religion, culture and politics, etc. is essential for an effective intervention with sport as a peacebuilding tool. Accordingly, a detailed context analysis would need to be included in a conceptual framework, where possible prior to the intervention itself.

12.2 MAIN RESULTS ONLINE SURVEY

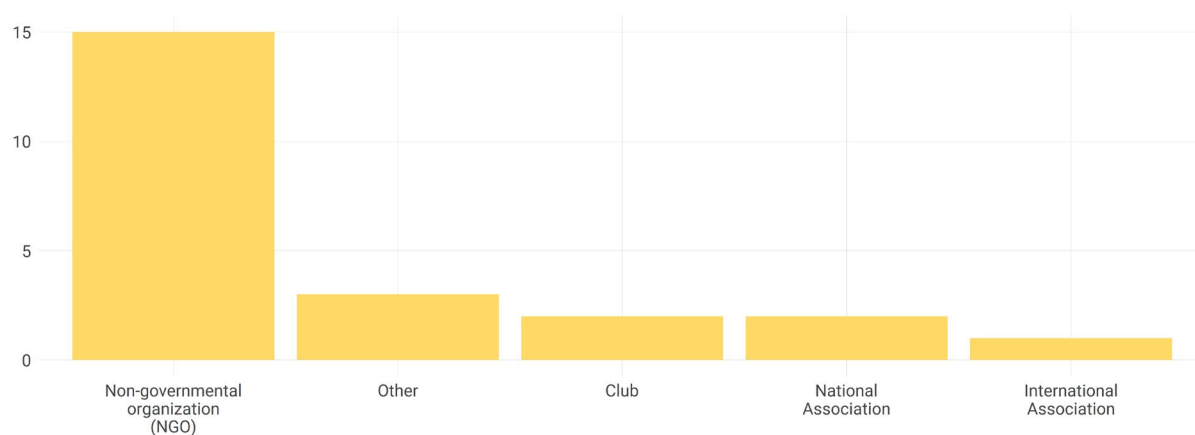
In the following chapter, the results of the online survey will be presented using the following subject areas. At the beginning, some background information on the interviewed peacebuilding institutions are provided. In a further step, the positive contributions identified by the respondents as well as the risk factors involved are presented. Furthermore, it will be described how the practitioners view the significance of Olympic education in the context of peacebuilding. In addition, individual peacebuilding intervention designs are presented. Finally, individual observations and experiences of the interviewed institutions are outlined.

12.2.1 INFORMATION ON PEACEBUILDING INSTITUTIONS

The first step was to generate some central information about the organization that participated in the online survey. Accordingly, questions regarding the organizational form, the headquarters location, the area of activity, and the main purpose concerning the field of sport and peacebuilding were raised.

(1) *Organizational form.* The majority of the organizations questioned were NGOs (65.2%). Furthermore, international associations (4.3%), national associations (8.7%) and clubs (8.7%) also took part in the survey. In addition, 13.0% (*Other*) of the respondents represented a university, an NGO-based university or an associated government organization.

Figure 20: Institutions surveyed



(2) *Headquarters location.* The participants of the online survey represented an organization with headquarters in one of the following countries (cf. Table 8). In total, 17 different countries have been reached.

Table 8: Respondents' location of headquarter

HEADQUARTERS LOCATION					
Bolivia	Ghana	Italy	Kenya	Sri Lanka	UK
Cameroon	India	Japan	Korea, South	Switzerland	Venezuela
Germany	Israel	Jordan	Netherlands	Uganda	

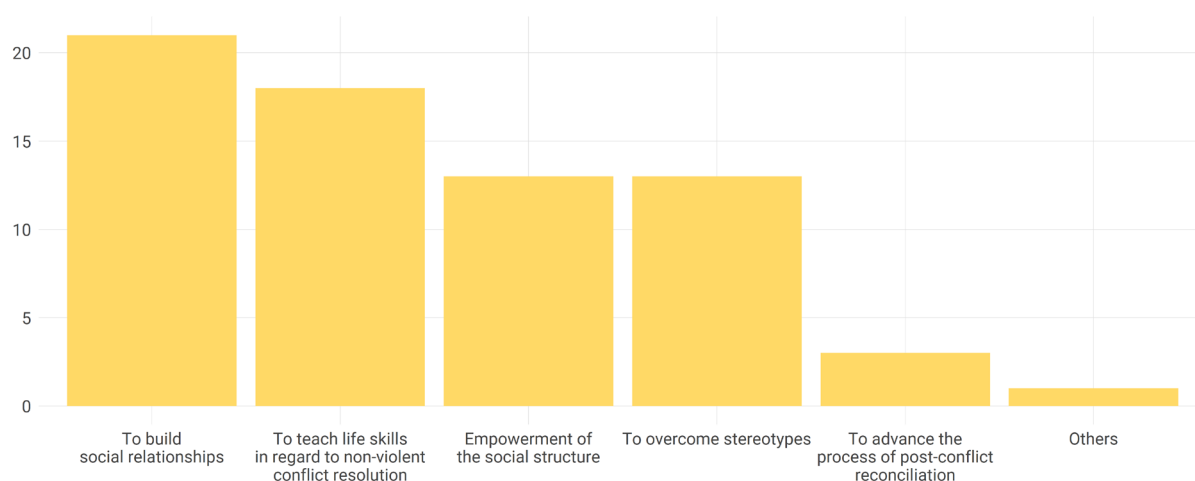
(3) *Area of activity.* The organizations were also asked to indicate the countries in which they engage in sport and peacebuilding. A total of 46 countries, where sport is used as a peacebuilding instrument, were identified (cf. Table 9).

Table 9: Respondents' area of activity

AREA OF ACTIVITY					
Afghanistan	Costa Rica	Ghana	Kyrgyzstan	Rwanda	Tunisia
Argentina	East Timor	India	Lebanon	Sierra Leone	Uganda
Australia	Egypt	Ireland	Macedonia	Singapore	UK
Brazil	El Salvador	Israel	Myanmar	South Africa	Venezuela
Burkina Faso	Ethiopia	Italy	Namibia	Sri Lanka	Yemen
Cambodia	Gambia	Jordan	Nepal	Switzerland	Zimbabwe
Cameroon	Georgia	Kenya	Nigeria	Syria	
Colombia	Germany	Korea, South	Pakistan	Tanzania	

(4) *Main objectives.* Finally, the organizations were asked to name the main objective(s) that they pursue with their interventions in sport and peacebuilding. With regards to this, multiple answers were allowed. The two main objectives consist of building social relationships (87.0%) and teaching life skills in non-violent conflict resolution (78.3%). In addition, about half of the respondents (56.5% each) pursue the objectives of overcoming stereotypes and enhancing the social structure. Much less important seems to be the objective of advancing the process of post-conflict reconciliation (13.0%). One organization pointed out that they are also pursuing the objective of educating students on the use of sport as a peacebuilding tool.

Figure 21: Main objectives



12.2.2 POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION VS. RISK FACTOR

The respondents were furthermore asked to give their opinion on the potential contributions, risks and tensions in the context of sport and peacebuilding that were developed in *chapter 8*. For this purpose, they were able to select from various given statements, allowing for multiple answers. In addition, they could also give their own statements within the category «others».

Regarding the potential contribution of sport to a peace process, the respondents had not only to select the key elements that were adequate for them by using a *drag and drop function*, but also to arrange them according to their importance (*Ranking*).

The results of the single inquired components can be found below.

(1) *Positive contribution*. The three components «*a meeting point*», «*positive values stimulated by sporting activities*» and «*social exchange*» are seen as the greatest contributors of sport to peacebuilding, based on the number of acknowledgments. Based on the number of ‘Top 1 rankings’, the two components «*positive values stimulated by sporting activities*» and «*equality*» turn out to be the most central contributions of sport to peacebuilding. Considering the weighted score respectively the total score set in ratio «*positive values stimulated by sporting activities*» appear again to be also the most central component.

For a better overview, all results concerning the number of mentions, the number of Top 1 entries, the weighted total score and the ratio scores (*weighted total score divided by the number of potential mentions*) are shown in Table 10.

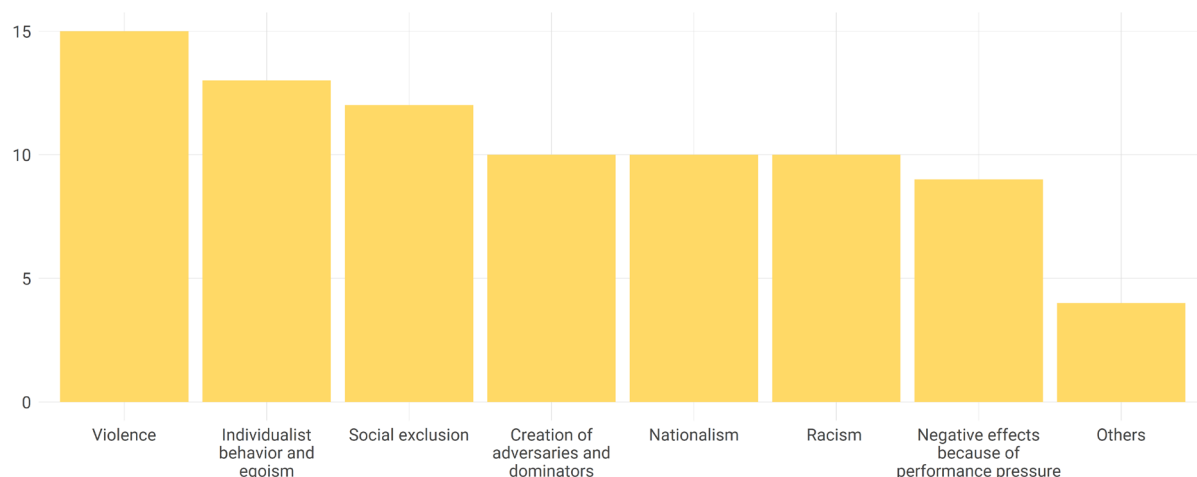
Table 10: Evaluation of potential contributions

POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTION	MENTIONS	TOP 1 RANKING	WEIGHTED SCORE	RATIO SCORE
A meeting ground	16	4	119	5.2
Positive values stimulated by sporting activities	16	6	135	5.9
Social exchange	16	3	124	5.4
Equality	14	5	115	5.0
Pursuit of common interests and goals	13	0	85	3.7
Crosscutting identities	11	0	64	2.8
Shared emotions	11	2	64	2.8
A common point of reference	9	0	51	2.2
A global denominator	9	1	56	2.4
Highlighted commonalities	8	0	51	2.2

(2) *Associated risks*. All risk categories defined in advance were selected by the respondents. Three out of the seven categories even received approval from more than half of the participants in the online survey. In addition to the risk concerning social exclusion (52.2%) and the risk regarding individualistic behavior and egoism (56.5%) associated with sport, violence is considered to be the greatest risk factor with 65.2% of all respondents agreeing. A further 17.4% of the participants indicated additional risks which, in their opinion, could occur in connection

with sport as an instrument of peacebuilding. Among others, the following additional risks were named: (i) Corruption, (ii) dishonesty, (iii) elitism, (iv) inequalities, (v) risks derived from a negative person leading sports, and (vi) substance abuse to enhance performance.

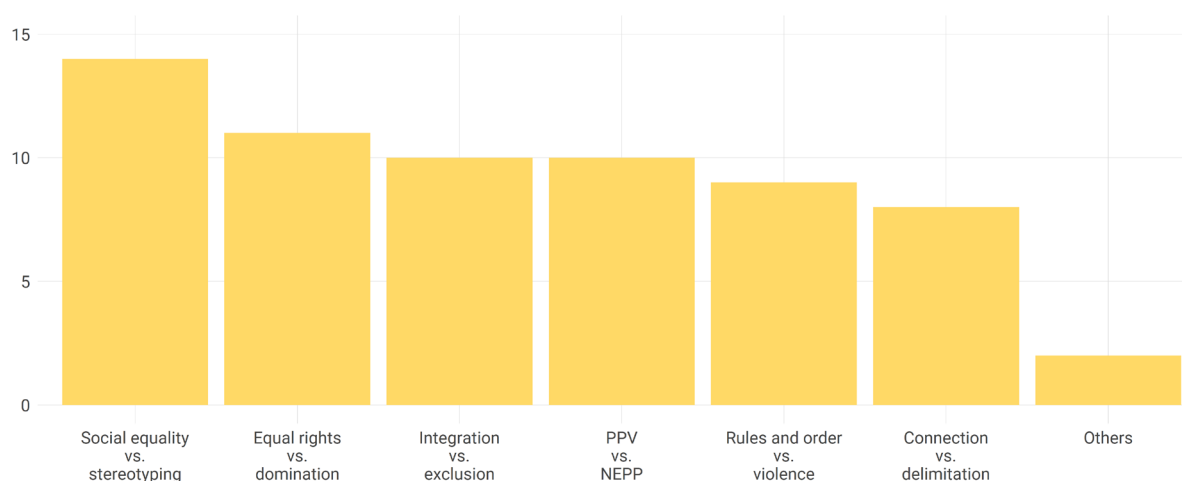
Figure 22: Associated risks



(3) *Known stress ratios*. All given categories of possible stress ratios were also perceived by the respondents as potential tensions. The stress ratio «*social equality vs. stereotyping*» was the most popular with 65.2% and the stress ratio «*connection vs. delimitation*» the least with 34.8%.

For a better overview, all results are shown in Figure 23.

Figure 23: Potential tensions



*PPV = Positive performance values, NEPP = Negative effects due to performance pressure.

12.2.3 VIEWS ON OLYMPIC EDUCATION

As was already shown in the context of the expert survey, the Olympic values and the Olympic education were also perceived with mixed feelings by the practitioners. Despite the general

support for Olympic education and the learning goals associated with it (cf. Table 11), a certain skepticism is also expressed, which can be illustrated by the following quotation from one of the respondents.

«Not every organization uses Olympic values or education to do their work. The Olympics are seen as elitist and on occasion are linked to governments and hierarchies using sport for normalization, nation building etc. To use Olympic education within certain conflict contexts is not always wise. Whilst the general ethos and values may be in line with peace, the fact the national organization is seen as an arm of the dominant powers in a country can create issues. E.g. do Israelis of Palestinian descent feel they have equal access to sport and to represent Israel in the Olympic Games – especially when they may wish to represent Palestine. The very nature of the Olympic Games is run along nationalist lines.» (Online survey, Head of Operations, NGO based at a University in the United Kingdom)

Nonetheless, in the context of Olympic values and Olympic education, the question was asked which learning objectives of Olympic education play an important role in the context of sport and peacebuilding.

The respondents believe that all learning objectives of Olympic education can play a role in peacebuilding. However, the most important role is attributed to the two learning objectives «*solving conflicts*» (82.6%) and «*respecting diversity*» (91.3%), which received the highest approval from respondents. On the other hand, the two learning objectives «*set and strive goals*» (26.1%) and «*avoiding conflicts*» (17.4%) were classified as less important. All ratings of the respondents are listed in Table 11.

Table 11: Approval of specified learning objectives

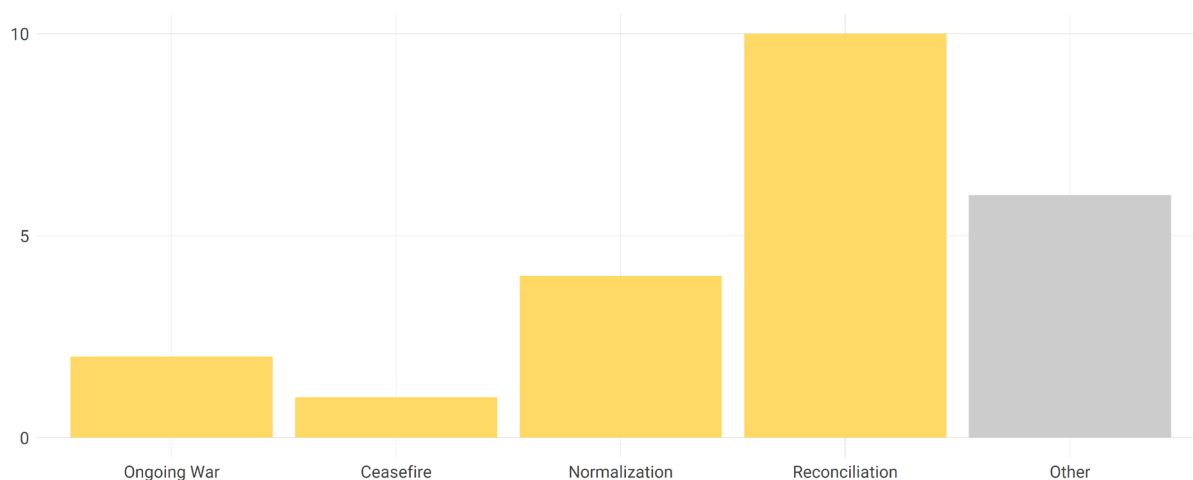
PERFORMANCE	%	FAIRNESS	%	MUTUAL RESPECT	%
Enjoy learning	69.6%	Respect rules	69.6%	Acknowledging performances of others	60.9%
Make efforts	56.5%	Show consideration	30.4%	Value your sporting fellows	52.2%
Do one's best	30.4%	Avoiding conflicts	17.4%	Respect diversity	91.3%
Set and strive goals	26.1%	Solving conflicts	82.6%	Develop joy of cooperation	56.5%

12.2.4 PEACEBUILDING INTERVENTION DESIGN

In a further block of questions, the organizations were asked to provide various information about their functioning in the field of sport and peacebuilding. Of particular interest was (i) when they would start their interventions in the course of the peacebuilding process, (ii) which peacebuilding strategy they would apply, (iii) how they view the use of public space, (iv) how they could guarantee access to their sporting activities, and (v) how their sporting content would be structured.

(1) *Initiating the intervention.* Peacebuilding processes are characterized by a multitude of conflict resolution activities. The individual peacebuilding interventions and their time of entry into the peacebuilding process vary accordingly. For this reason, the individual organizations were asked to indicate the phase of a peace process in which they would start their peacebuilding intervention. There were various phases of a classical peace process to choose from (cf. *chapter 6.1.2*). The respondents were also given an open category to name a phase outside the classical one.

Figure 24: Time of entry



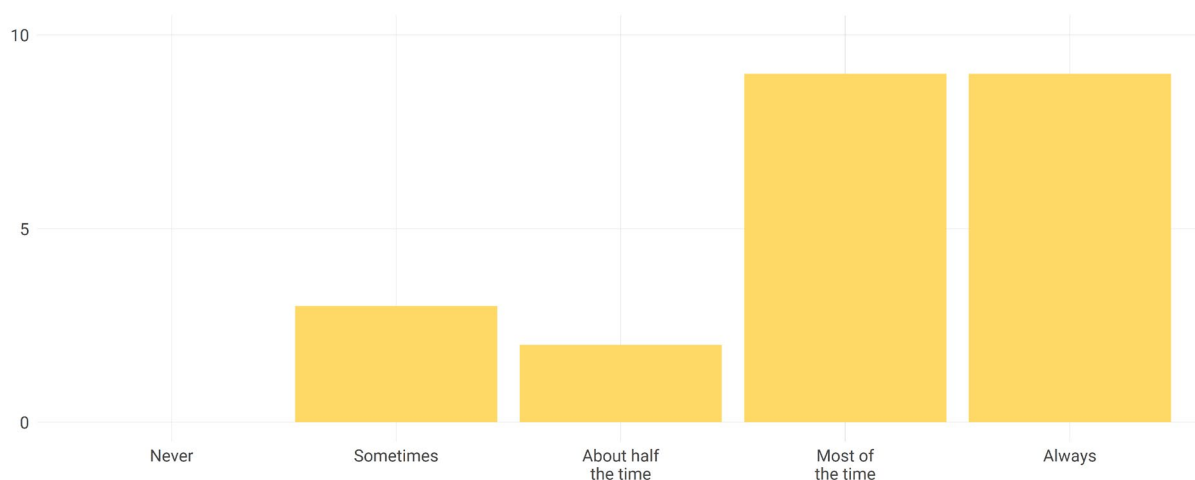
8.7% of the respondents are already active with their peacebuilding intervention during an ongoing war. A further 4.3% do not start their programs until a ceasefire is reached and nobody requires a peace agreement to enter the peace process. The majority of the respondents start later. 17.4% begin in the phase of normalization and 43.5% of all respondents enter the peace process in the phase of reconciliation. A further 26.1% of the respondents selected the open category, where they argued, among other things, that the phase would depend on the region and the parties with which they would have to work. A further opinion mentioned the pre-conflict phase as a way to prevent violence.

(2) *Top-down vs. bottom-up*. Of particular interest was what kind of overarching peacebuilding strategies practitioners implement in the field. For this question, it was possible to select between the top-down and the bottom-up strategy (cf. *chapters 6.2 and 6.3*), whereas the open category again allowed one to address a different or individual strategy.

The results gave a clear picture in favor of the bottom-up strategy, which was supported by 69.6% of the respondents. Only 8.7% use a top-down strategy for their interventions. 21.7% of the respondents referred to other strategies, in particular to the mixed form, where both bottom-up and top-down strategies are applied simultaneously.

(3) *Use of public space*. With regard to the design of a sport intervention in the context of peacebuilding, it was also of interest whether the individual programs involving sporting activities would take place in a neutral public space. The respondents could answer the question with the categories «*always*», «*most of the time*», «*about half the time*», «*sometimes*» and «*never*».

Figure 25: Neutral public space



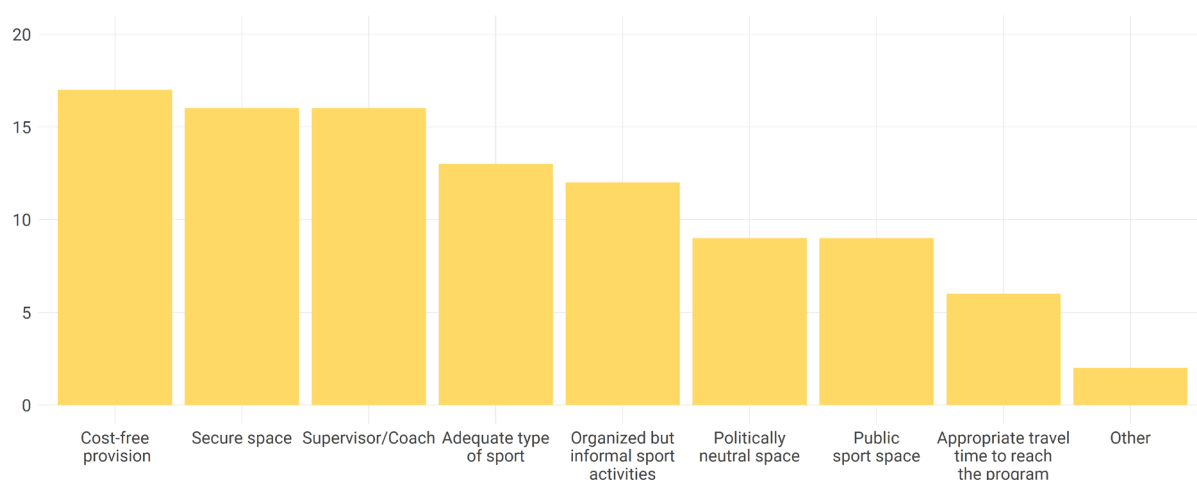
The majority have declared that they would always (39.1%) or most of the time (39.1%) use a public or neutral space for their sporting activities. 8.7% indicated that they would use a public neutral space for at least half of the time and another 13% of the respondents would sometimes use a public neutral space. On the other hand, no one has claimed that they would never use public and neutral spaces.

(4) *Guaranteed access*. The online survey was also intended to identify the measures taken by practitioners in the field to guarantee access to sport and, at the same time, to guarantee opportunities for participation. Therefore, respondents were able to choose from the aspects of

accessibility, developed on the basis of *chapter 9* (cf. *chapter 9.3* in particular), whereas multiple answers were allowed. The categories included «*public sports space*», «*politically neutral space*», «*secure space*», «*adequate type of sport*», «*organized, but informal sporting activities*», «*cost-free provision*», «*appropriate travel time to reach the program*», and finally the category «*supervisor/coach*». Again, respondents were given the opportunity to select the open category to draw attention to other aspects of guaranteeing access.

A summary of the answers regarding access to sport and opportunities for participation is given in Figure 26.

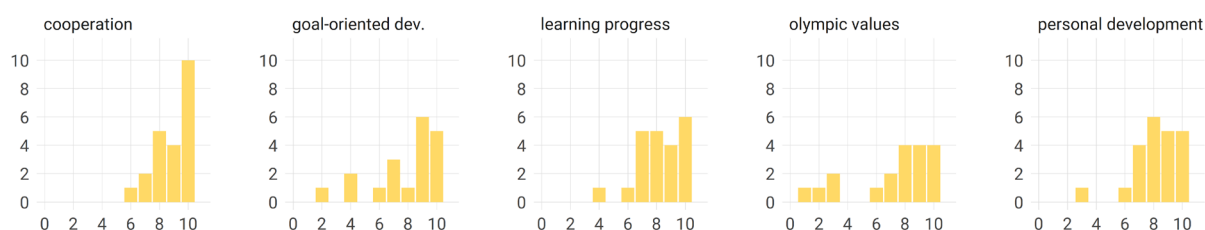
Figure 26: Guaranteed access to sport



The respondents are of the opinion that all aspects contribute to guaranteeing access to sport and to creating an opportunity to participate. The most important aspects chosen by respondents were «*cost-free provision*» (73.9%), «*secure spaces*» (69.6%) and «*supervisor/coach*» (69.6%). The aspect concerning an «*appropriate travel time to reach the program*», on the other hand, received the least approval with 26.1%.

(5) *Sport content design*. In a closing question within the framework of this block of questions, the relevance of the following aspects in connection with the development and implementation of sport contents was asked. In accordance with *chapter 9*, the aspects included «*goal-oriented development*», «*personal development*», «*learning progress*», «*cooperation*» as well as «*Olympic values*». In addition, there was once again the possibility to express oneself with the open category. The individual aspects could have been selected and evaluated on a scale of one to ten. One signified that this aspect was «*not important at all*» and ten signified that this aspect was considered «*extremely important*».

Figure 27: Content design



The detailed results are shown in the following Table 12 below.

Table 12: Evaluation of potential contributions

SPORTS CONTENT DESIGN	MENTIONS	IMPORTANCE LEVEL 10	WEIGHTED SCORE	RATIO SCORE
Cooperation	22	10	196	8.5
Learning progress	22	6	181	7.9
Personal development	21	5	177	7.7
Goal-oriented development	19	5	149	6.5
Olympic Values	19	4	137	6.0
Other	3	1	21	0.9

Based on the number of mentions, the number of mentions regarding the *importance level 10*, as well as the weighted score, respectively the total score set in ratio. The aspect concerning «*cooperation*» is considered the most important aspect to design a content of sporting activity. The aspect regarding «*Olympic values*» seems to be much less important.

12.2.5 INDIVIDUAL OBSERVATIONS AND EXPERIENCES

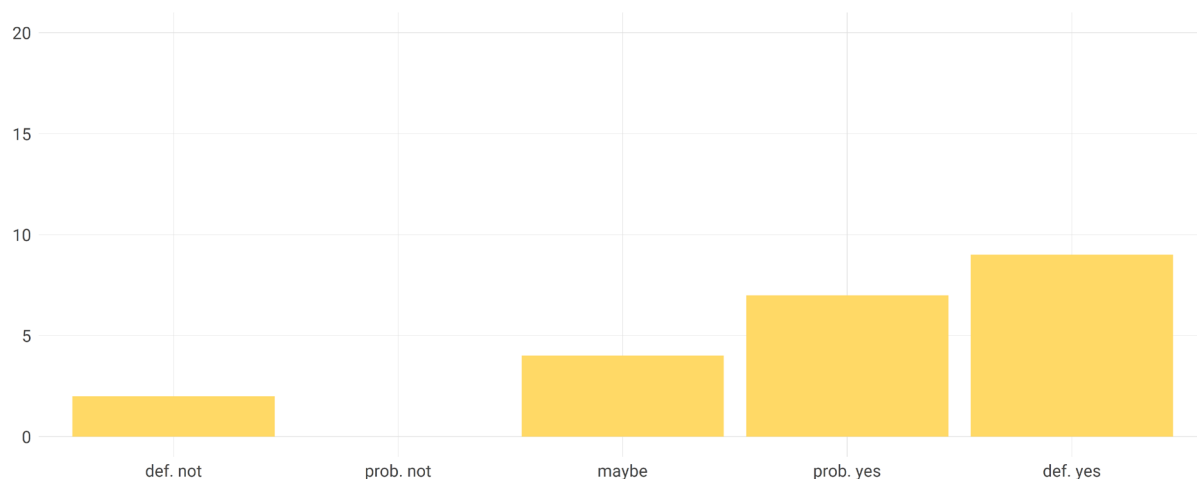
In a final block of questions, information on personal observations and experiences was gathered in order to make the causal hypotheses derived in *chapter 10.3* more plausible. Accordingly, the respondents were asked to answer the questions listed in Table 13 with «*definitely not*», «*probably not*», «*maybe*», «*probably yes*» or with «*definitely yes*».

Table 13: Questions concerning personal observations and experiences

QUESTIONS OF THE LAST QUESTION BLOCK
Q1: Do your sport activities create crosscutting identities?
Q2: Does your program foster social interactions?
Q3: Do participation opportunities within your program foster cooperation?
Q4: Do respecting relationships arise from social interactions through your sport activities?
Q5: Do the Olympic educational values foster mutual respect?

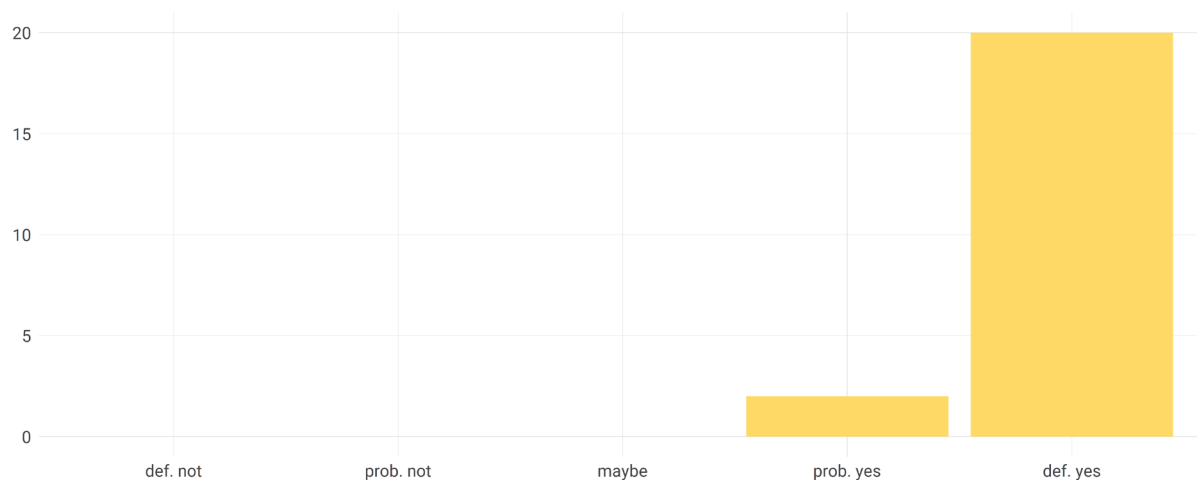
(1) *Identity*. The question as to whether the sporting activities used within the context of peacebuilding interventions could create a crosscutting identity was predominantly answered positively. 39.1% of the respondents answered with a definite yes and additional 30.4% with probably yes. 17.4% of the respondents were not quite sure whether they had so far made such observations or experiences of emerging crosscutting identities. In addition, 13% of respondents denied having had such an experience.

Figure 28: Crosscutting identity



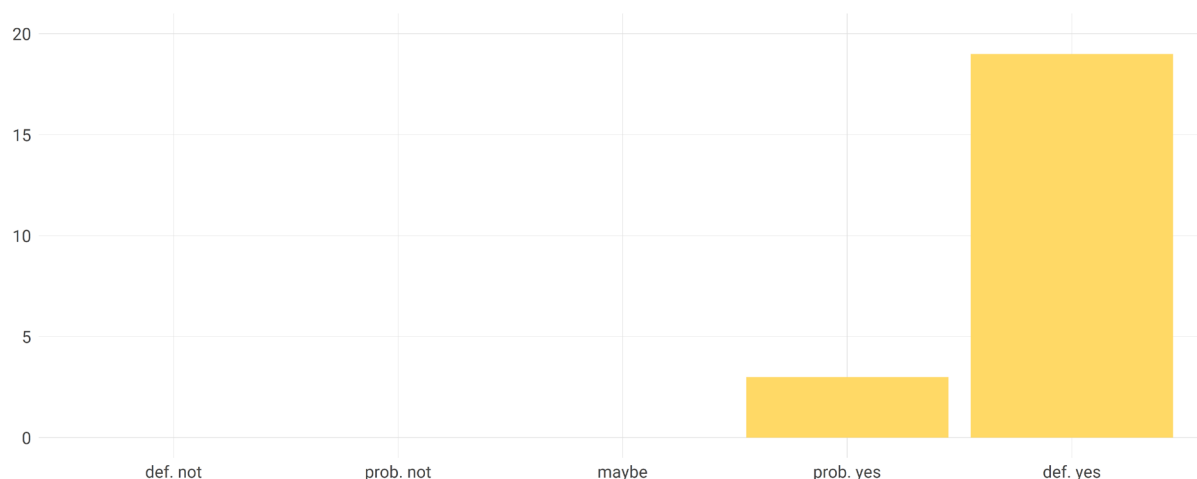
(2) *Social Interactions*. The question was clearly answered with a *yes* as to whether social interactions are actually fostered in the context of individual sport interventions. 91.3% of the respondents have definitively made such observations and experiences. Another 8.7% are of the opinion that such a fostering of social exchange is very likely to take place.

Figure 29: Social interactions



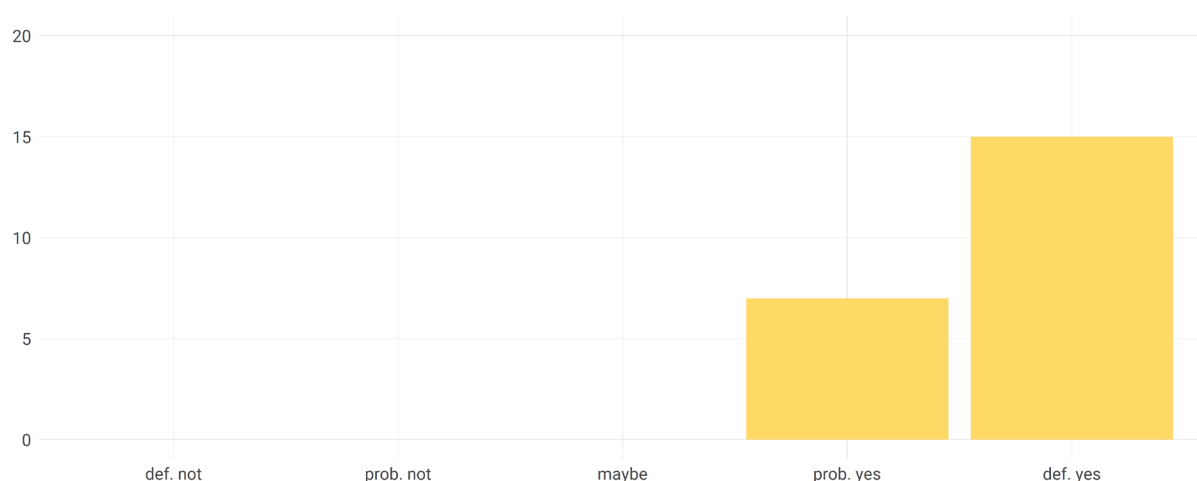
(3) *Cooperation*. A similar picture was presented by the question regarding the topic of cooperation. Most of the respondents indicated that they had observed or experienced how participation opportunities within a program foster cooperation. Expressed in figures, 82.6% of respondents stated a definitive yes and a further 17.4% a probable yes.

Figure 30: Cooperation



(4) *Relationships*. There was only approval, and no rejection, of the question regarding relationship building. 69.6% of the respondents stated that they had certainly made observations and experiences which showed that social interactions through their sporting activities have resulted in respectful relationships. Another 30.4% are very likely to have observed such developments of relationships due to social interactions through their sporting activities.

Figure 31: Relationships

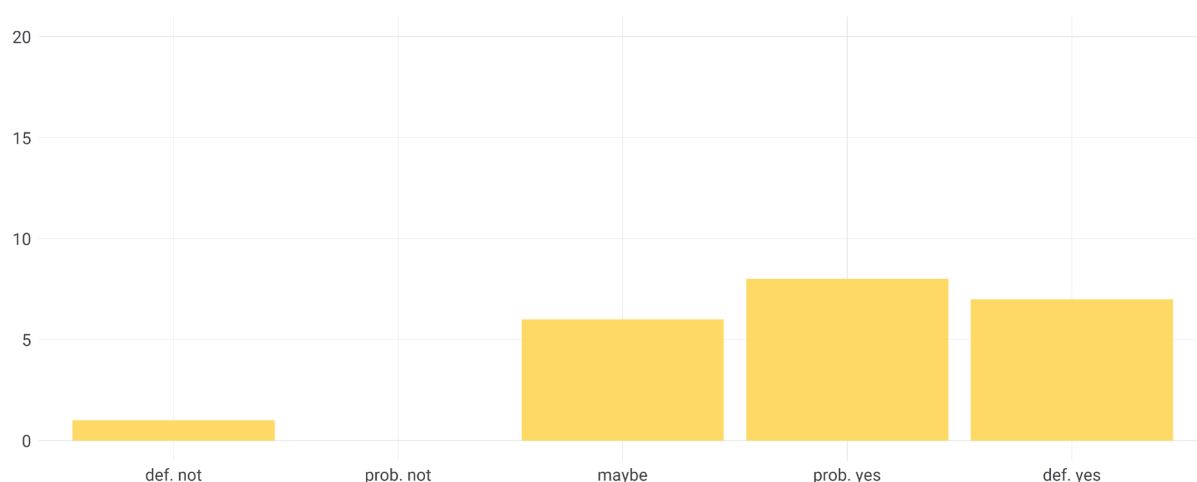


(5) *Impact of Olympic education*. The respondents were no longer completely convinced by the question regarding Olympic values. The question of how the Olympic values would foster

mutual respect was answered by 30.4% of the respondents with definitely yes, 34.8% with probably yes, 30.4% with maybe and 4.3% with definitely not.

At this point, however, the respondents pointed out that the transmission of Olympic values would not be a central part of their transmission of values.

Figure 32: Olympic values



12.3 COMPACT SUMMARY OF KEY RESULTS

Within the scope of this chapter, a great deal of information was processed into valuable results. In the following, the key elements are summarized briefly and concisely, which are then discussed in detail in the following *part V*.

- Sport is able to make a positive contribution to the peacebuilding process. Both the interviewed experts and the questioned practitioners are convinced of this fact. In particular, it is argued that sport can make a contribution by developing relationships in the sporting environment, transmitting values and emphasizing equality through regular social exchanges.
- At the same time, however, experts and practitioners agree that sport also entails a certain number of risks. The risks associated with sport cover a wide range. However, the greatest risk is seen in the outbreak and the use of violence.
- When it comes to Olympic values and education, experts and practitioners also share the same opinion. On the one hand, the Olympic values include meaningful and positive values that could be applied in a peace process. Particular mention should be made of the advocacy and transmission that diversity must be respected. At the same time,

however, the credibility of these values suffers, since the IOC, the representatives of these values, are often seen in a dubious light.

- It is a fact that a peacebuilding process is a very complex process and that sport cannot always be considered as an effective tool. The experts agreed that certain conditions must be fulfilled on the spot if sport is to be used as a peacebuilding instrument. In practice, the majority of interventions seem to focus on the reconciliation phase.
- The bottom-up approach appears to be the most popular and widely used peacebuilding approach amongst practitioners. The experts, on the other hand, rather propagate a multi-track approach that takes both the bottom-up and the top-down approach into account. However, there is a general consensus on the need to work together with the local population in the field.
- Access to sport and the opportunity to participate in sporting activities cannot simply be taken for granted, but must be ensured through specific measures. This is the conclusion drawn by practitioners and experts. The most effective measures seem to be the cooperation with local communities, the provision and use of secure and neutral spaces, cost-free participation and external support by coaches or supervisors.
- In order for sport to make a positive contribution, it is necessary to consider certain aspects that must be incorporated when designing the contents of sporting activities. According to the experts, it is particularly important to make the right choice of the type of sport and to be able to teach values and to build teams. Furthermore, the practitioners emphasize the aspect regarding the orientation towards cooperation.
- In principle, both experts and practitioners have made the experience that sporting activities used within the context of peacebuilding initiatives can create a crosscutting identity. At the same time, however, the sustainability and the degree of identification are being questioned.
- Experts and practitioners believe that peacebuilding interventions through sporting activities promote social interactions and cooperation and thus contribute to building relationships. In the view of the experts, the driving factors behind this are the regular and repetitive exchanges as well as the conceptual design focusing on the playful element of sport and a team setting.

PART V: CONCLUSION

Following the theory building process carried out in *part III* and the theory testing carried out in *part IV*, the last part of this dissertation (*part V*) is devoted to the conclusion and final discussion. Accordingly, the focus of this part lies on a critical discussion of the central findings, in order to incorporate them into the adaptation of the developed theory and impact model. Ultimately, the implications for peacebuilding through sport will also be discussed.

The final section covers the following topics:

- Discussion of key findings (discussed in *chapter 13*)
- Impact model adjustment (discussed in *chapter 14*)
- Implications for peacebuilding through sport (discussed in *chapter 15*)
- Contribution of the study (discussed in *chapter 16*)
- Suggestions for further research (discussed in *chapter 17*)

13 DISCUSSION OF KEY FINDINGS

In this chapter, the most central findings of the qualitative analysis will be summarized and critically reflected. At the same time, there will be an attempt to discuss the individual results with reference to the developed theory and impact model. For each individual sub-area to be discussed, a conclusion will be drawn. All conclusions will be of central importance for the further elaboration of the newly developed theory respectively the developed impact model described in *chapter 14*.

13.1 REFLECTIONS ON GENERAL PEACEBUILDING APPROACHES

Reflection on general approaches to peacebuilding is crucial, as sport can only be used as an effective peacebuilding tool if certain strategic choices are made in advance that favor such intervention. In a complex field such as peacebuilding, there are a number of different approaches that can be pursued. Based on the qualitative analysis, but also based on the theoretical components it can be concluded that three important approaches must be considered in relation to peacebuilding through sport: (1) The phase of conflict transformation within which active work should be carried out, (2) the strategy with which peace is to be implemented, and (3) the time span for peacebuilding measures.

In the following, these three key points, which must be clarified when preparing a peace mission through sport, will be reduced once again to the essentials.

(1) *Phase of conflict transformation.* In general, it can be argued, particularly on the basis of the evaluation of the survey of practitioners, that the phase of reconciliation is most likely to be the most suitable phase of activity. On the one hand, this can certainly be justified by the fact that in this phase, as could be shown in the theoretical part, the greatest intersection between sport as a potential peacebuilding instrument and the requirements of a peacebuilding process can be found. On the other hand, the selection of this phase of conflict transformation could also be attributed to an increased security situation and to the increased chances of success in planning and implementing programs and interventions.

(2) *Strategy on the implementation of peace.* The most effective strategy to get a peace process moving seems to be the bottom-up strategy. This has already emerged in the context of the theoretical elaboration, by arguing that such a community-based approach allows participants to directly develop their own solutions to the problems they face more effectively and thus change the structures and relationships affected by violence (McDonald 1997, Campbell 2011). Furthermore, Lederach (1997) pointed out in the context of his peacebuilding pyramid that it would be essential to combine the top-down with the bottom-up approach regarding the peacebuilding process. He based his argument on the fact that the establishment of a peace process in deeply divided societies requires consideration of the legitimacy and interdependence of the needs and resources of grassroots, middle and top leaders. This is shared by the experts interviewed, who propagate a multi-track approach that combines the two classical approaches.

(3) *Time span.* Particularly in the context of the expert survey, it was pointed out that attention should be paid not only to the right entry point of a program or intervention, but also to the long-term orientation and duration of an ongoing program. In the current literature, the time span of peacebuilding is divided as follows: the phase of short-term stabilization, the phase of transition and the phase of consolidation (de Coning 2006, Warnecke/Franke 2010). Accordingly, in the sense of the propagated sustainability, it makes the most sense to focus on the transition phase, where rehabilitation and reconstruction are in the spotlight, and even more on the consolidation phase, where reconciliation, in particular, is of central importance.

In summary, the following can be noted:

Successful peacebuilding processes through sport depend on the right timing (*reconciliation*), the political decisions of those responsible (*top-down*), those involved (*bottom-up*) and on a long-term intervention planning (*consolidation*). Consequently, the respective context of a conflict or post-conflict period must be analyzed and understood.

13.2 THE NEED FOR A PEACE PARK

Is a peace park of central importance in the field of peacebuilding through sport? In order to answer this question, the findings of the surveys on sub-themes, (1) public space, (2) access to sport, (3) design of contents, and (4) sports infrastructures need to be summarized and critically discussed. With regard to the impact model, the *inputs* in particular must be critically (re-) discussed, as the aggregation of all inputs reflects the idea of a peace park.

(1) *Importance of a public space.* Both the experts and the practitioners agreed that a neutral, public space which can be used for sporting activities is of particular relevance in the context of sport and peacebuilding. In order to bring together two or more formerly hostile and/or conflict-ridden ethnic parties, a trustworthy environment must be created. It almost goes without saying that neutrality and security are central requirements for such a common public space. These findings overlap with the theoretical foundations of Lederach (1997). He pointed out that a successful reconciliation process depends on a social space where people can encounter and discuss concerns of the past and the future. In other words, reconciliation takes place in public space, i.e. in a social platform through encounter.

(2) *Importance of access to sport.* The experts also pointed out that a public space in itself would make access to sport much easier. However, this alone is not sufficient, which means that access to sport and the possibility to participate in sporting activities must also be guaranteed through specific measures. According to experts and practitioners, the most effective measures include (i) cooperation with local communities, (ii) the provision and use of secure and neutral spaces, (iii) cost-free participation, and (iv) external support from coaches and/or supervisors. The former can be traced back to the bottom-up approach, within which the local population should be involved in finding a suitable solution. In this sense, the affected population should contribute to finding a way to guarantee the broadest possible access to sport. Regarding cost-free participation, it can be referred to Edwards et al. (2015), who pointed out that entrance fees can obstruct access to sport. As far as coaches and supervisors are concerned, it should be noted that the organization and content of sport are based on external guidance. Access to sport should be facilitated by offering the necessary framework conditions and

contents that cover the largest possible target groups and in particular do not exclude anyone in advance.

(3) *Importance of a coach and/or supervisor.* In order to secure access to sport on the one hand, but also to ensure that sporting activities are designed and implemented effectively, the results of the surveys showed that external support or guidance from coaches and supervisors are of central importance. The external supervision can be explained by the fact that there are also negative sides in sport, which have to be eliminated as far as possible through the involvement of coaches and supervisors. On the other hand, sports activities should be guided in such a way that the positive aspects of sport can be brought to bear.

(4) *Relativized importance of infrastructure.* With regard to infrastructure, the experts particularly pointed out that public spaces or sports fields, in general, do not have to be equipped with the most modern and attractive infrastructure. It is more important that part of the public space is available to be used for sports. Alternative devices can also be used as infrastructure, which Hubler (2012) has already referred to. Either way, the focus is on play and activity.

In summary, the idea of a peace park can be underpinned with the following conclusion.

The idea of a peace park unites the central elements (*inputs*) mentioned above, that are of particular relevance for a successful peacebuilding intervention. Accordingly, the aggregation of these central elements should be pursued further and implemented in practice by creating such a peace park. In practice, that kind of peace park could be adapted to the individual needs of a particular context, used flexibly and designed to be customer-oriented.

13.3 RIGHTLY EXPECTED OUTCOMES?

With the implementation of a peace park, a social platform will be provided with facilities for sporting activities in which people can participate on a regular basis. Based on these outputs, the expected *outcomes* were outlined in the developed impact model (cf. Figure 18), which now need to be questioned again on the basis of the results of the expert interviews and the results of the online survey of practitioners. In particular, it should be clarified whether the formulated outcomes can be expected in this manner, or whether the results reveal a different picture.

In summary, the following subchapters will address (1) the relevance of adequate value transmission, (2) the sustainability of relationships, and (3) the potential of crosscutting identities.

13.3.1 RELEVANCE OF ADEQUATE VALUE TRANSMISSION

It is undisputed among experts and practitioners that within the framework of peacebuilding measures, the transmission of values should be included in sporting activities, as these values can trigger a learning process among the individual participants and further contribute to both mutual understanding and respect. Accordingly, there is basically nothing to judge concerning the transmission of Olympic values, respectively the contents of such values as such. Both qualitative surveys conducted show that these values are in principle considered to be positive. In addition, it is also assumed that the transmission of these principles can also be used within the context of a peacebuilding process.

However, it is more problematic that the Olympic movement or the Olympic Games are associated with these values. Of course, Pierre de Coubertin originally pursued the idea that the whole world could celebrate a global competition together in a peaceful atmosphere. At the same time, the message that peaceful coexistence of different nations and cultures would be possible should be conveyed to the public (Spaaij 2012, International Olympic Committee 2016b). In reality, the Olympic Games, and therefore also Olympism as such, carry a Janus-faced character. On the one hand, the Olympic Games create a space for encounters, exchanges and comprehension. On the other hand, within the scope of global competition, a nation-based sporting performance comparison is being held.

Accordingly, the following conclusion can be drawn:

In order to avoid this problem or to prevent the brand Olympic Games from becoming a stumbling block in the transmission of values within the context of peacebuilding interventions through sport, it should primarily be referred to «*universal values of sport*». This signifies that such universal sporting values can be applied, learned and disseminated within the context of sporting activities and in the sporting sphere in general.

13.3.2 SHORT-TERM RELATIONSHIPS ONLY?

As has been advocated several times, sport can make a positive contribution to building relationships and making a further contribution to social capital. In the theoretical part, particular reference was made to the contact hypothesis of Allport (1954). With regular contact, relationships can be established that in turn are able to positively stimulate the peace process. Sport thus has the potential to be such a place of encounter and contact. According to Tiedermann (2011), sport offers a framework for a cultural field of activity in which people

voluntarily enter into a relationship with other people. Schulenkorf (2009) further pointed out that through sports interventions, communities can be connected and can build a common, bridging social capital.

Likewise, the experts and practitioners underlined the argument regarding the establishment of interpersonal relationships as an outcome of sporting activities. Particularly when it comes to reconciliation, sport can be a valuable means of bringing different groups together. At the same time, however, it was pointed out that the outcome, i.e. the building of relationships, can only be guaranteed if the interaction within the context of sporting activities takes place regularly, continuously and on a long-term basis. In addition, it was made clear that relations could also be maintained outside of sport, i.e. it would be necessary to have the opportunity to meet again outside the sporting field of activity.

Accordingly, the following conclusion can be drawn:

The regularity and sustainability of a sport intervention in the context of peacebuilding operations are crucial. If these aspects are not fulfilled, it is to be expected that the resulting interpersonal relationship will only last for a short time. Accompanying measures such as meeting opportunities outside the world of sport can also turn short-term relationships into sustainable ones.

13.3.3 QUESTIONABLE CROSSCUTTING IDENTITIES

The idea that a common identity can be developed through sporting activities is something that can be generally supported based on the knowledge gained. As has already been shown, a common identity is another kind of collective identity that describes an imaginary community. This is also confirmed by Poletta and Jasper (2001), who have drawn attention to the fact that a common identity must be understood as a flowing and relationship-oriented process resulting from social interactions. Such social interactions may also be reproduced in the context of sport, underlining the possibility of developing a crosscutting identity.

However, too little attention was paid to two essential aspects in the context of this topic. On the one hand, this concerns the strength, or in other words the relevance of such a newly developed crosscutting sports identity. On the other hand, it concerns the sustainability or the lifespan of such an identity developed in a specific setting.

Considering the different possibilities to define ethnic identity, it has become visible that ancestry is indispensable for the description of ethnic groups. This means that such an identification can rely on an incredibly long and deeply rooted history. Consequently, a newly created identity, as it would be the case in a peacebuilding intervention through sport, has little chance of overtaking or even displacing an ethnic identity.

Accordingly, the following conclusion can be drawn:

Identification with one's own ethnic identity is and remains a strong bond. The crosscutting sport identity should accordingly show the possibility of an additional affiliation, which emphasizes mutual respect and the respect for diversity. Rather than a new identity, it should be referred to as a *crosscutting community affiliation*. For this reason, the focus should not be on a new crosscutting identity, but on an overarching community affiliation.

13.4 IMPORTANCE OF ACCOMPANYING MEASURES

Sport depends on various aspects so that it can make a positive contribution to peacebuilding processes, as has already been seen in the section on theory building. The results of the qualitative analyses revealed the importance of additional accompanying measures with regard to the impact goals to be achieved. Accordingly, the following three measures are to be included in a future orientation.

(1) *Additional social platform*. When sport is used as a peacebuilding tool, it is typically used only sporadically. Accordingly, it must be ensured that the social platforms and opportunities for encounters and relationship building offered by sport also find a place outside the sporting context.

(2) *Tuition*. A further accompanying measure includes tuition on (i) peacebuilding values, (ii) approaches to conflict resolution, and (iii) empowerment. In order to be able to internalize the peacebuilding contents already transmitted during sporting activities, these should also be integrated into other learning platforms (e.g. schools, seminars, workshops).

(3) *Coach education*. As has already been shown on several occasions, the external supervisors or coaches can be assigned a central role. In order for the contents of the sports activities (lesson design and value communication) to be effectively implemented, coaches must have the appropriate know-how. Therefore, it is important to educate coaches continuously. An environment of learning must therefore be included as an accompanying measure.

Accompanying measures are of central importance for the achievement of the defined objectives. With these measures, the probability can be increased so that the implemented activities can take effect as originally planned.

13.5 SIGNPOST FOR FUTURE ADJUSTMENTS

First of all, it should be noted that the contents of the theory and the impact model developed have been made plausible to a large extent by both the experts and the practitioners. Sport seems to be able to make a positive contribution to the peace process. At the same time, however, it became even clearer that sport also involves a number of risks. The interaction between positive contributions and existing risks means that the expected contribution must not be overestimated and must be relativized accordingly. The potential contribution of sport to peacebuilding must be correctly estimated on a case-by-case basis.

In the following, those elements which were underestimated, overestimated or even hidden during the development of the theoretical framework and/or during the development of the impact model will be outlined and briefly explained.

(1) *Stronger integration of fundamentals: Module 1* (cf. chapter 10.1.1) highlighted the importance of (i) understanding the conflict and its roots in the preliminary stages of peacebuilding measures through sporting activities, (ii) choosing the right timing of the peace process in order to be effective with sporting measures, and (iii) choosing the adequate strategy in order to implement the planned measure as effectively as possible. These elements were also clearly underlined by the qualitative analyses, which means that these findings must also be incorporated into the impact model as *fundament*, which has not yet been the case.

Two additional points must be considered with regard to the adaptation of the impact model. Firstly, in order to ensure that sport does not only have a selective and short-term impact, accompanying measures must be established, long-term orientation guaranteed and regular activities carried out. In the initial model, too little attention was paid in particular to long-term orientation and accompanying measures. In addition, the spectrum of strategies must be broadened as part of the strategic considerations for implementation. For example, the top-down approach was declared rather inadequate in the first phase of theory building, and only a few intersections with sport have been identified. Accordingly, the top-down approach was almost completely left out, as the focus was very much on the bottom-up approach. As the

experts have argued, the multi-track approach is a promising and practicable methodology, which is why it absolutely must be incorporated into the developed models.

(2) *Relativization of the infrastructure required for the «Peace Park»: Module 2* (cf. chapter 10.1.2) highlighted the importance of a neutral public space that must provide an infrastructure for sporting activities. This led to the idea of a peace park, which was largely supported by the various responses from the qualitative analyses. With regard to the necessary infrastructure, however, reservations were rightly expressed. The peace park as an idea of a neutral, accessible sports space should not be artificially enlarged, but rather should focus on its core ideas and inputs. Accordingly, it should be pointed out in the framework of the impact model that the provision of a simple infrastructure, focusing on the most necessary, must be sufficient. Under no circumstances should costs be a stumbling stone to the realization of the idea of a peace park. The focus should always be on living the idea as such.

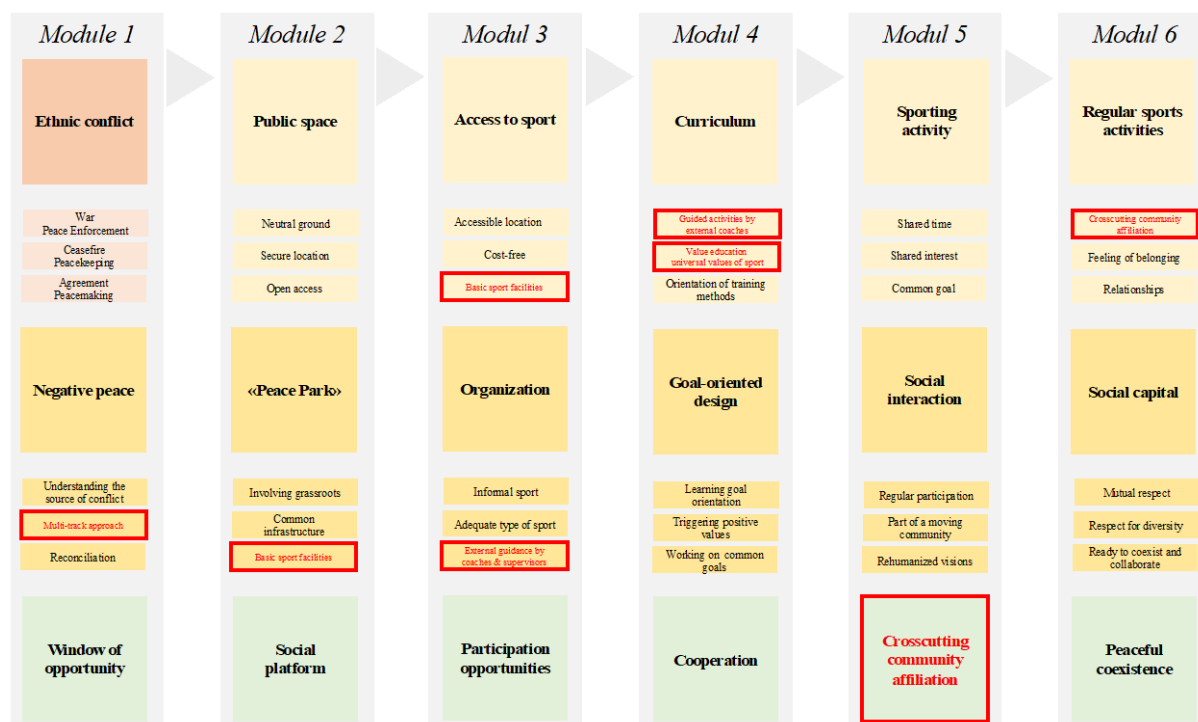
(3) *External instruction as a central component of organization: Module 3* (cf. chapter 10.1.3) showed that the peace park has to be organized in such a way that it offers as many people as possible access to sport. Accordingly, it was argued that (i) the sport should have an informal organizational character, (ii) after taking into account the context, the adequate type of sport should be selected, and (ii) sporting activities should be led by external coaches or supervisors. The latter also plays a particularly important role in the implementation of the contents, i.e. in the sense of a curriculum. This is why external supervisors play an important role, when it comes to transmitting values, i.e. underlining positive values and containing negative ones. The results of the surveys showed that coaches and supervisors are of particular relevance for the implementation of an effective intervention. The relevance of external coaches was not sufficiently emphasized in the first phase of the theory building process. In the context of value transmission and in its role as multipliers, this should have been emphasized more clearly. Accordingly, the tuition and education of coaches must also be included in the adjusted impact model.

(4) *Choosing the «right» values for transmission: In Module 4* (cf. chapter 10.1.4), the coaches and supervisors were assigned the very important task of sports education and value transmission. The curriculum of the coaches and supervisors should especially be focused on the teaching of sports activities in the sense of Olympic education. Essentially, the coaches and supervisors should design the sporting activities in a goal-oriented way so that the designed content stimulates the development of social and moral behaviors such as fair play and mutual

respect. In addition, learning and progress, as well as cooperation, should be at the center of attention. The important element of transmitting values and the content orientation of sporting activities were also underpinned by both experts and practitioners. However, the relevance of the Olympic movement and that of Olympic education was respectively dismissed as irrelevant. Accordingly, the relevance of value transmission in the sense of Olympic education was overestimated in the initial phase of theory building and must be adapted correspondingly in the new impact model.

(5) *Affiliation instead of identity*: In Module 5 (cf. chapter 10.1.5) it was argued that through sporting activities people spend time together, pursue common interests and work towards a common goal. It was further argued that this kind of social interaction can create a moving community which, if met at regular intervals, can lead to a crosscutting identity. However, the potential of sport has in general been overestimated in terms of crosscutting identity building. The fact that such a shared identity is being created has not been challenged by experts and practitioners. However, the experts rightly pointed out that the sustainability of such newly developed identities should be questioned. Accordingly, this component should be reduced in the impact model to a crosscutting community affiliation instead of identity and adapted correspondingly.

Figure 33: Complete model 2.0: Sport as a bridge-building activity and a tool to promote peace



On the basis of this conclusion and the resulting guiding elements, the model of the theoretical framework (cf. *chapter 10.2*, Figure 16) must also be adjusted slightly. The modifications made are illustrated accordingly in Figure 33 (cf. *red frame*). Due to this adapted model, it will be possible to make the necessary adjustments to the initial impact model.

14 IMPACT MODEL ADJUSTMENT

Within the scope of this chapter, the new *impact model 2.0* will be developed. Accordingly, in a first step, the individual components that need to be adjusted will be discussed. In a second step, the newly visualized impact model will be introduced (cf. *chapter 14.1*). In a final step, it will be described how the originally derived causal assumptions may be modified or formulated in greater detail so that they can be tested in the future (cf. *chapter 14.2*).

14.1 IMPACT MODEL 2.0

By and large, there are no major changes that will turn the originally established impact logic upside down. However, the following adjustments should contribute to present the impact model in a more robust version. Accordingly, the adjustments within the individual components as well as the further additions to the model will be worked out in the following.

(1) *Fundamentals*. This additional component is positioned prior to the initial impact logic and encompasses the strategic orientation. The point is that in the run-up to peacebuilding interventions through sport, fundamental reflections should be made on general approaches to peacebuilding, such as entry time, implementation approach and time span. In addition, in-depth knowledge of the specific context should be gained. Finally, long-term planning of the sports intervention should also strengthen its potential impact. With regard to the implementation strategy, the model should not only focus on the bottom-up approach. There should also be enough space to apply a multi-track approach that combines both the bottom-up and the top-down approach. Especially when it comes to the implementation of a peace park, the support of local leaders (top-down) will be of central importance.

(2) *Input II – Infrastructure*. This input has been modified to the extent that, although basic sports facilities that enable people to engage in sport must be provided, these facilities can be designed in the most straightforward way. As already mentioned, it is more important to promote the peace park for sport so that people can exercise, rather than to focus too much on the most modern facilities.

(3) *Input III – Human resource*. This part of the input focuses now completely on external supervisors and coaches as a human resource for the planned peace park. The key actors of the grassroots level, who were also integrated into the very first model, are to be integrated within the *fundamentals*. This adaptation underlines the importance of external coaches and supervisors as an integral part of the peace park.

(4) *Activity – «Peace Park»*. This component has not been changed in its principles. However, it has been emphasized once again that the peace park is a package that contains all single inputs – public space, infrastructure, and human resources – which allow cost-free access to informal sporting activities under the guidance of external coaches/supervisors. With this further explanation it is more evident what the activity represents and which outputs can be expected accordingly.

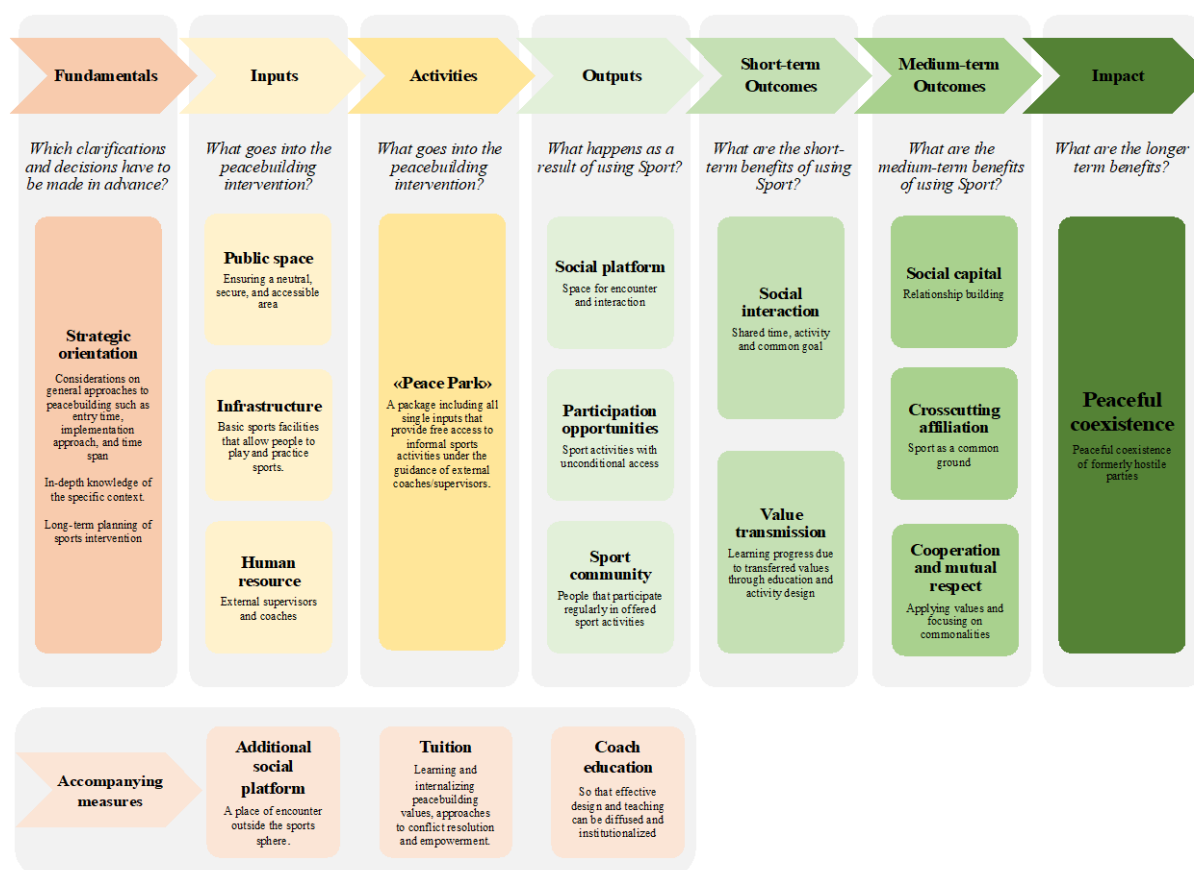
(5) *Short-term Outcomes II – Value transmission*. In the context of the expected short-term outcomes, only the learning progress of the values transmitted has been changed. Now, reference is no longer made to Olympic values, but rather to the universal values of sport. This may only be a small change, but it shows how limited the application and credible transmission of the Olympic values are. At the same time, however, it shows that sport can also promote universal values independently of the Olympic movement.

(6) *Medium-term Outcomes II – Crosscutting affiliation*. Since the expectations of possible crosscutting identities have been overestimated, the model is changed within the framework of the expected medium-term outcomes to the extent that there will no longer be any reference to identity. The new model is to be referred to as a crosscutting community affiliation. On the one hand, this conceptual loosening demonstrates that it is still expected that an overarching ethnic community can be established. At the same time, however, the actual identity will not be degraded.

(7) *Accompanying measures*: The impact model is now extended by accompanying measures. The insights gained were used to establish these three additional components, (i) additional social platform, (ii) tuition, and (iii) coach education.

Figure 34 illustrates the adjusted impact model 2.0, which has integrated all previous aspects.

Figure 34: Impact model 2.0



In this adjusted impact model, the single causal assumptions are no longer indicated by arrows. This is mainly due to the fact that the model should be kept manageable and simple. In addition, it should be possible for future model users to make their own causal assumptions. Nevertheless, the modified, respectively the newly formulated causal assumptions, are discussed in the following.

14.2 CAUSAL ASSUMPTIONS 2.0 FOR FUTURE TESTING

Five working hypotheses (cf. H_1 - H_5) were derived from the original impact model, which also formed the basis and the leitmotif of the qualitative analysis. The adjustments to the theoretical framework as well as the impact model now also require the causal assumptions to be adapted (cf. H_{1new} - H_{5new}).

Since the initial working hypotheses were kept very general, the knowledge gained will be used at this point to formulate the hypotheses more precisely in addition to the general adjustments. In principle, however, the new hypotheses are based on the same theoretical foundations as the initial hypotheses (cf. Table 14).

Table 14: Initial and new hypotheses

<i>H₁:</i>	<i>A peace park for sport fosters social interactions.</i>
H_{1new}:	A peace park for sport, offers a social platform within which social interactions are enabled and empowered.
<i>H₂:</i>	<i>Opportunities for participation in sport foster cooperation.</i>
H_{2new}:	Opportunities for participation in sport allow people to learn from the transmission of values and to convert this into cooperative behavior.
<i>H₃:</i>	<i>Social interactions in sport develop social capital.</i>
H_{3new}:	Regular and long-term-oriented social interactions in sport develop social capital.
<i>H₄:</i>	<i>Sport communities foster crosscutting identities.</i>
H_{4new}:	People who regularly participate in sporting activities and thus enter into constant social interactions with their fellow human beings develop crosscutting community affiliation.
<i>H₅:</i>	<i>A learning progress of Olympic values within sporting activities fosters mutual respect.</i>
H_{5new}:	A learning progress of universal sporting values achieved through sporting activities fosters mutual respect.

15 IMPLICATIONS FOR PEACEBUILDING THROUGH SPORT

Based on the final discussion, the potential implications for current peacebuilding through sport will be derived within this chapter. Accordingly, in a first step, the realistic opportunities for the use of sport in peacebuilding are outlined and concisely described (cf. *chapter 15.1*). In a second step, reference is made to warning instructions that must be followed while dealing with sport and peace (cf. *chapter 15.2*).

15.1 REALISTIC OPPORTUNITIES

As was pointed out at the beginning of this dissertation, sport is considered to have numerous opportunities to be used as an effective instrument of peacebuilding. However, the theory building and theory testing have shown that the use of sport in peacebuilding is limited. As a conclusion of this overall discourse, and focusing on the essentials, the following six general realistic opportunities of sport as an instrument of peacebuilding will be highlighted.

(1) *Partial contribution of a large whole.* In principle, it can be concluded that sport as an instrument of peacebuilding contributes to a complex peacebuilding process – but only partially. In this context, it should be noted that sport is only part of a larger jigsaw puzzle that has to be put together for each individual peacebuilding process. For sport to be used effectively as a peacebuilding instrument, it must be included as an accompanying measure in a larger peacebuilding plan. Accordingly, sport must be taken into account from the very beginning as part of the overall peacebuilding measures.

(2) *Bringing people together for a limited time.* Sport is rightly said to have the power to bring people together. This power can be realized because peacebuilding measures through sport focus on sporting activities and thus also on a common denominator. Accordingly, the power of sport can realistically be used to bring conflicting actors together. Of course, as has already been pointed out several times, attention must be paid to the adequate timing of the bringing together. At the same time, however, when using sport as an instrument of peacebuilding, it must be noted that such expected intrapersonal activities between groups and persons who are or have been in conflict can only be guaranteed for the duration of this shared sporting activity. The bringing together and being together is thus limited by the time spent together.

(3) *Sporting activities as a platform for building social capital.* Sporting activities and the associated venues can realistically form a platform for exchange and encounter, which is of particular importance for an effective peace process. In addition to the traditional exchange platforms provided to a society, sport offers an additional space for exchange and encounters. Accordingly, such a platform offers a realistic opportunity to work on and develop a common social capital. In this context, it is important to note that sporting activities constitute this platform and are at its core when it comes to the development of social capital.

(4) *Providing a peaceful atmosphere through external guidance.* Another realistic possibility to use sport effectively as an instrument of peacebuilding is to create a peaceful atmosphere within the framework of sporting activities. Such a peaceful atmosphere can best be implemented by an external person, e.g. coach or supervisor, in an initial starting phase. The design of the content of the activity and the transmission of values integrated into the sporting activity are after all the decisive tools with which an external person can ensure a peaceful atmosphere and make a general contribution to the peacebuilding process. Accordingly, a realistic influence of sport on the peacebuilding process is achieved through highly educated external experts.

(5) *Teaching peacebuilding contents.* Another realistic possibility to use sport effectively in the context of peacebuilding is to manage the content of the activity in a goal-oriented way. In other words, the content-based controlling of the activity offers the possibility to promote further life skills and functional abilities that can subsequently stimulate and support a peacebuilding process. Accordingly, a curriculum for life skills must be integrated into the planned intervention through sport. Again, it becomes evident that the chances of an effective use of sport in peacebuilding lie particularly in the well-directed and well-thought-out design of sporting activities.

(6) *Peace park as a permanent and sustainable institution.* The idea of the peace park for sport is broadly defined and can be applied in very different contexts. These flexible application possibilities offer real opportunities to implement the idea of a peace park in a specific setting. With the establishment of a peace park for sport, an opportunity would present itself to accompany a long-lasting and complex peace process. Although sport, as described above, can only make a limited contribution, a permanent institution such as the peace park for sport makes it possible to repeat, maintain and determine the frequency of the selective contributions.

On the basis of these summarized key points, it can be concluded that the field of application and the realistic opportunities of sport as an instrument of peacebuilding are very diverse and promising.

15.2 WARNING INSTRUCTION

In addition to realistic opportunities for sport in peacebuilding, warnings should also be expressed. The following outlines the three most important warnings that should be considered in the SDP sector.

(1) *Overestimation of the general impact of sport.* As the realistic possibilities have shown, there are different approaches and methods for using sport as an effective means of peacebuilding. However, these possibilities and the associated expectations regarding the impact of sport are often overestimated. This overestimation usually comes from the fact that only the positive values and contributions of sport are taken into consideration and that there is hardly any room for consideration of the negative aspects of sport. Consequently, the sport and peacebuilding sector would be best served by focusing on the main uses of sport as an instrument of peacebuilding and deepening them by all means.

(2) *Strong external dependencies.* The use of sport as an instrument of peacebuilding is accompanied by external dependencies, which must be taken into consideration in the planning and implementation of peacebuilding measures through sport. On the one hand, there is a strong dependency on the respective context. The specific contexts of the conflict and the reconciliation process define the framework within which sport can be used as an instrument of peacebuilding. On the other hand, the use of sport as an instrument of peacebuilding depends on how people engage in such a process. These personnel dependencies encompass two sides. On the one hand, the effectiveness of a peace intervention depends on the willingness of society to support such measures. On the other hand, the measures depend on persons such as coaches and supervisors, who are the central pillars when it comes to the implementation of planned initiatives. Accordingly, it is necessary to issue a warning to take these dependencies into account and ensure that they are not underestimated.

(3) *IOC as a questionable leading institution of the SDP sector.* The final warning raises the critical question of whether it was right to hand over leadership of the SDP sector to the IOC. The transition of the SDP sector from the UN to the IOC is favored due to access to organized international and national sport. Furthermore, the Olympic idea and the Olympic values would also be predestined to fulfil a leading role in the SDP sector. On the other hand, the results of this research show a different picture. Although rather a by-product of this thesis, the results clearly show that the IOC and its policies throw a shadow on the SDP sector. As a result, when it comes to peacebuilding measures through sport, it is important to consider to what extent the brand, ideas and values of the IOC should be integrated.

The conclusion to be drawn from these summarized warnings is that the impact of sport should not be overestimated and that existing dependencies should be taken into account. Furthermore, depending on the case, the position of the IOC within the framework of peacebuilding measures through sport should be critically reconsidered.

16 CONTRIBUTION AND LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

This chapter concludes with a summary of the contributions gained from the research carried out (cf. *chapter 16.1*). However, limitations of the research will also be pointed out (cf. *chapter 16.2*).

16.1 CONTRIBUTION MADE

The main goal of this dissertation was to provide a better understanding of sport as a tool for peacebuilding. In this context, it offers a set of valuable contributions to the fundamental knowledge of how and in what form sport can be used as an effective instrument of peacebuilding.

Firstly, an important contribution of this research is the fundamental examination of the potential impact of sport in the field of peacebuilding. To this end, all the theoretical components associated with sport and peacebuilding have been meticulously reviewed. In bringing the individual components together, it was not only the positive and possible contributions of sport that were looked at, but also the negative aspects of sport. With such a fundamental discussion of the field, this research extends the scientific literature by providing a step-by-step argumentation and comparison of all the different arguments gathered.

A second important contribution of this research is the identification of stress ratios that may occur in the context of peace promotion through sport. By juxtaposing positive and negative aspects, it was possible to work out these stress ratios. Accordingly, this dissertation highlighted the existing conflict potentials and stress ratios to be eliminated in practice. In general, the stress ratios that have been worked out now offer the possibility of carrying out in-depth studies in these specific subtopics and offer these conflict potentials to be analyzed in a higher degree of detail.

A third contribution of this research is the development of a theoretical framework which, on the basis of a modular structure, illustrates the potential use of sport. The modular structure was achieved by developing individual self-contained steps towards sustainable peacebuilding through sport. Particular care was taken to eliminate existing conflict potentials as well as possible. These individual modules now provide information regarding the key factors that should be taken into account when designing peacebuilding measures through sport. In addition, it offers the opportunity to conduct in-depth research based on the contents of the individual modules.

An additional contribution of this research is the incorporation of the theoretical framework into an impact model that made the individual modules more concrete. The theory and the related modules become more concrete as a simplified illustration provides an idea of how a peacebuilding intervention through sport could work. In particular, the theoretical incorporation

made it possible to visualize the expected impact paths. In this context, it was also possible to derive causal assumptions in the form of hypotheses, which can now be examined in subsequent research projects. Furthermore, the developed impact model can now be used as a tool to plan and evaluate programs and projects in the future.

Finally, a new innovative idea of a peace park for sport has emerged from the process of theory building, which is another important contribution of this research. With the idea of the peace park, the central components for the provision of an effective peace intervention can be conveyed through sport. This idea can now be used as an orientation aid in practical application.

16.2 LIMITATION TO BE NOTED

Of course, this dissertation also has its limitations, which will be explained in the following on the basis of two major points. In this context, however, it is important to emphasize once again that the development of a new theoretical framework was the focus of this research project.

The first limitation of this thesis concerns the theory testing part. The expert interviews as well as the survey of practitioners provided important findings which subsequently allowed a plausibility check of the developed theory. However, what cannot be provided within the framework of this research project is empirical evidence about the causal assumptions made. The provision of empirical evidence will be subject to future research.

The second limitation concerns the range respectively the scope of the entire subject area. Since a large amount of material had to be reviewed as part of the theory building process, it was only possible to go into depth to a limited extent. Accordingly, the individual components require further and more specific investigations.

17 SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES

Based on the contributions and limitations of this dissertation, four recommendations for future research projects can be formulated, which are briefly explained in this final chapter.

(1) *In-depth examination of specific theoretical components.* In future research, the theoretical concepts used for theory building could be examined in more detail and, if desired, with a specific focus. Within the component on peacebuilding, for example, it would be advisable to conduct an even more in-depth analysis of the development of social capital within the framework of sporting activities. In this context, the necessary mechanisms needed for the

building of social capital and the design of sporting activities to be used for this purpose could be worked out in greater detail.

(2) *Further development of the impact model.* Another suggestion for further research projects concerns the further development of the impact model. In line with the suggestion for in-depth studies described above, it would also be important in this case to work out the inputs, activities, outputs and outcomes in a higher degree of detail. Accordingly, a further research project could develop an in-depth impact model with clearly defined indicators and impact interrelations.

(3) *Examination of derived hypotheses.* As already mentioned in *chapter 16.2*, this dissertation was able to provide hypotheses derived from the developed impact model. However, the examination of these hypotheses was not part of this thesis. Accordingly, it is obvious that future research projects could examine the hypotheses presented in this paper. In this context, it could also be worthwhile to include other influencing factors in the empirical testing of causality so that bias effects caused by the model could be prevented as far as possible.

(4) *Monitor the development of the SDP sector under the leadership of the IOC.* Monitoring the development of the SDP sector under the leadership of the IOC could be interesting for future research projects for two reasons. Firstly, the UNOSDP was only recently closed (2017) and consequently the associated tasks were only recently transferred to the IOC. In addition, there are some aspects that indicate that the IOC is not the most respected institution as regards the leadership of the SDP sector. Accordingly, it could be interesting to examine (i) the extent to which these delegated tasks are taken over by the IOC, (ii) the extent to which there has been a modification, and (iii) the extent to which the influence of the IOC has a positive or negative impact on the SDP sector.

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APPENDICES

INTERVIEW-GUIDE



**Universität
Zürich^{UZH}**

EXPERT INTERVIEW

Thank you for taking the time to participate in my survey on sport and peacebuilding.

You will find the guide to the planned interview below. If you have any questions or require further information, please do not hesitate to contact me (ran.gruenenfelder@uzh.ch).

Linking «Sport» and «Peace»

1. What is the potential contribution of sport within a peacebuilding process?
2. Are there any risks involved when using sport as an instrument to promote peace?
3. In the context of sport and peacebuilding, do you recognize aspects that are in conflict with each other (stress ratio)?
4. To what extent might the «*Olympic Education*» contribute to peacebuilding through sport?

Framework conditions for «Sport as an Instrument for Peacebuilding»

5. When is the right time to enter into the peace process with sport as an instrument to promote peace?
6. What approaches to peacebuilding are indispensable?
7. What role does the provision of public space for sports activities play in the context of peacebuilding?
8. How can access to sport and the opportunities for participation associated therewith be ensured?
9. Through what content and what form of sporting activities can peace projects be positively stimulated?
10. Are sports activities capable of creating a crosscutting and independent identity?
11. To what extent does sport contribute to relationship building?

Proposals for alignment

12. Are there any key factors that must be included in a framework concept regarding sport and peacebuilding?

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS

The transcripts of the expert interviews are available at the author upon request.

Sport and Peacebuilding



**Universität
Zürich^{UZH}**

Sport as an Instrument for Peacebuilding

In recent years the sport-peace connection has received unprecedented attention. A lot of NGO's took initiatives to install peacebuilding projects with sport activities as a peacebuilding tool. Their main focus is aiding during the process of post-conflict reconciliation by bringing together former enemies in friendly sporting settings. This survey explores the question whether sport could be an effective tool to promote peace in divided post-conflict societies, and if so, to what extent?

Answering the questions takes normally no longer than 10 minutes. The results of this survey are expected to be published in 2020 as part of my dissertation. The anonymity of your answers is guaranteed. Thank you very much for your participation and I will be happy to answer your questions at any time.

Ran Grünenfelder (ran.gruenenfelder@uzh.ch)

Question block 1: Information on the organization

In the beginning we will ask you some questions about your organization. This information is used in the evaluation, to form and compare different groups of organizations in the field of sport and peacebuilding.

Organization: My organization can be assigned to the following organizational form.

- ☐ Intergovernmental organization (IGO)
- ☐ Non-governmental organization (NGO)
- ☐ International Association
- ☐ National Association
- ☐ Subnational/Regional Association
- ☐ Club
- ☐ Other _____

Staff involved: Within my organization I am active as...

- ☐ Member of the Board of Directors
- ☐ Executive Director
- ☐ Program Manager
- ☐ Public Relations Manager
- ☐ Administrative Manager
- ☐ Other _____

Location: The organizations headquarter is located in...

▼ Afghanistan (1) ... Zimbabwe (196)

Area of activity: We operate in the following countries...

▼ Afghanistan (1) ... Zimbabwe (196)

**To select options in a row, you can click and drag your mouse or hold down Shift when selecting. To select non-sequential options, you can hold down Ctrl (on a PC) or Cmd (on a Mac) when clicking.*

Purpose: What is your main purpose concerning the field of sport and peacebuilding?

- ☐ To advance the process of post-conflict reconciliation
- ☐ To build social relationships
- ☐ To overcome stereotypes
- ☐ To teach life skills in regard to non-violent conflict resolution
- ☐ Empowerment of the social structure
- ☐ Others _____

Question block 2: Sport and Peace

The next block of questions covers questions relating to the two concepts of sport and peace.

Contribution: What is the potential contribution of sport within a peacebuilding process?

Select the corresponding keywords and arrange them according to their importance.

	Potential contribution of sport
A global denominator	
A common point of reference	
A meeting ground	
Social exchange	
Crosscutting identities	
Equality	
Positive values stimulated by sporting activities	
Pursuit of common interests and goals	
Shared emotions	
Highlighted commonalities	
Others	

Risks: What risks does sport involve?

- ☐ Nationalism
- ☐ Racism
- ☐ Violence
- ☐ Social exclusion
- ☐ Creation of adversaries and dominators
- ☐ Individualist behavior and egoism
- ☐ Negative effects because of performance pressure
- ☐ Others _____

Stress ratio: If you compare the positive aspects with the negative aspects of sport within a peacebuilding context. Do you recognize aspects that are in conflict with each other?

- ☐ Connection vs. delimitation
- ☐ Social equality vs. stereotyping
- ☐ Integration vs. exclusion
- ☐ Equal rights vs. domination
- ☐ Positive performance values vs. negative effects due to performance pressure
- ☐ Rules and order vs. violence
- ☐ Others _____

Olympic education: Which learning objectives of Olympic educational values (performance, fairness, mutual respect) play an important role in relation to sport and peacebuilding?

Performance	<input type="checkbox"/> Enjoy learning	<input type="checkbox"/> Make efforts	<input type="checkbox"/> Do one's best	<input type="checkbox"/> Set and strive for goals
Fairness	<input type="checkbox"/> Respect rules	<input type="checkbox"/> Show consideration	<input type="checkbox"/> Avoiding conflicts	<input type="checkbox"/> Solving conflicts
Mutual Respect	<input type="checkbox"/> Acknowledging performances of others	<input type="checkbox"/> Value your sporting fellows	<input type="checkbox"/> Respect diversity	<input type="checkbox"/> Develop joy of cooperation

Question block 3: General Function

The next block of questions deals with the general function of your organization in the field of sport and peacebuilding.

Timing: Peacebuilding processes are characterized by a multitude of conflict resolution activities. In which of the following phases does your peacebuilding program begin?

- ☐ Ongoing War
- ☐ Ceasefire
- ☐ Peacemaking Agreement

- ☐ Normalization («Structural» Peacebuilding)
- ☐ Reconciliation («Cultural» Peacebuilding)
- ☐ Other _____

Strategy: Which peacebuilding strategy does your program follow?

- ☐ Top-down
- ☐ Bottom-up
- ☐ Other _____

Neutral Space: Does your program, which includes sports activities, take place in a neutral public space?







- ☐ Always
- ☐ Most of the time
- ☐ About half the time
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Never

Access & Participation: How do you guarantee access to sport and create opportunities for participation?

- ☐ Public sport space
- ☐ Politically neutral space
- ☐ Secure space
- ☐ Adequate type of sport
- ☐ Organized, but informal sport activities
- ☐ Cost-free provision
- ☐ Appropriate travel time to reach the program

- ☐ Supervisor/Coach
- ☐ Other _____

Content: What relevance do the following keywords have for you in the development and implementation of your sport contents?

	Not at all important										Extremely important	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Goal-oriented development												
Personal development												
Learning progress												
Cooperation												
Olympic Values												
Other												

Question block 4: Personal observations and experiences

The next question block asks questions concerning your personal observations and experiences.

	Definitely not	Probably not	Maybe	Probably yes	Definitely yes
Identity: Do your sport activities create crosscutting identities?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Social Interactions: Does your program foster social interactions?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Cooperation: Do participation opportunities within your program foster cooperation?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Relationships: Do respecting relationships arise from social interactions through your sport activities?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Olympic Education: Do the Olympic educational values foster mutual respect?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Closing

Thank you! **You did it!**

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey!

Feedback

Is there anything else you want to share with me?